National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXII, No. 10 **Total Number 327**

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Editorial Comment

Citizen Action in Phoenix

THE Citizens' Good Government Council of Phoenix, Arizona, whose success in ousting a "do nothing" city administration was described in the September REVIEW,[1] has provided another refreshing lesson in the democratic process of forcing official action to catch up with public opinion.

As in many cities which are the hearts of military concentrations or have experienced great wartime industrial expansion, the juvenile delinquency problem in Phoenix became serious. But there was little indication of official concern even when the situation was emphasized by the appointment of a youth betterment committee of responsible citizen members of the Good Government Council to study the problem.

Instead of following the all too usual practice of making a leisurely "study" of conditions which were obvious to anyone who looked, members of the committee promptly made a late evening tour of the city's "hot spots" and wrote strong letters to the city attorney, chief of police, and other city officials. The letters asked whether there were not curfew and other laws which needed enforcing and whether police lacked authority or desire to act; they closed with a demand for action.

A news account of the committee's letter appeared in the Saturday morning newspaper. The results were immediate. That night and on into Sunday morning many young people and some of their parents were brought before the judge of the juvenile court. Just before he adjourned court at 3:15 A.M., after hours of advising, warning, and committing, the judge still had the patient wisdom to conclude the unprecedented session with this statement:

"There's no use of our men fighting and dying out there to save this country if we let it go to pot in the meantime."

To make sure this would not be just a momentary sop to an aroused public opinion, the judge directed all peace officers in the county to repeat the performance every Saturday night.

This is a striking demonstration of what organized citizens can do to dramatize evils, force action, and thus make their communities better places in which to live. It also shows the need for civic organizations which do more than grumble about high taxes. It is not a question of bad officials either in Phoenix or elsewhere. The recent successful reform movement led by the Citizens' Good Government Council presumably installed a good administration. Our democratic system simply needs the participation of an enlightened citizenry to work properly, and this is one of the ways to enlighten citizens and to challenge them to participate.

[1]See "Phoenix Citizens Clean Up City, Win Army Praise," p. 456.

Visitor from China

IN RECENT months a member of the Chinese Parliament, Yulin Hsi, has been quietly visiting cities of the United States to study their basic organization and administrative systems.

His assignment, received directly from China's great leader, Chiang Kai-shek, was to discover what could be learned from our experience to help in the reconstruction and operation of Chinese cities after the war.

Before starting home to Chungking recently, Mr. Hsi had visited fifty or more cities and had talked with many of our authorities on public administration. Some of these, incidentally, were left wondering whether we might not have at least as much to learn from Mr. Hsi and his penetrating observations as he and his compatriots might have to learn from our long struggle to improve our cities.

Mr. Hsi is no "impractical idealist." A banker in Shanghai, he is also a public-spirited citizen who was proud to render unselfish, unpaid public service. He served nine years, for example, as a member of the city council. Even after the Japanese took over the city completely, he remained there in the hope of helping his people. He slipped away to Chungking only when it became apparent that his greatest opportunities for service were at the wartime capital.

This was Mr. Hsi's first visit to the United States. He was educated in Chinese universities. He was in an ideal position, therefore, to view our ways and works with complete objectivity, without a preconditioned mind.

One thing which surprised him, as it does many keen observers from other lands, is the way a supposedly enlightened and progressive people tamely endure the waste and confusion of overlapping, duplicate governments—165,000 of them, according to the most recent survey by William Anderson.[1] Another was the frequency with which our people vote out experienced officials and elect others who know little or nothing about running a government. "I visited one large city," he remarked, "where all the department heads had been elected only a few weeks earlier. No one seemed able to tell me anything I wanted to know so I left in an hour or two for the next city."

The thing which puzzled him most, however, was the number of cities, particularly large ones, without the council-manager form of government. The "manager plan," he felt, seemed to be the most logical and workable he had found.

"I gained the impression," he sagely remarked, "that the chief reason is political opposition. The politicians seem to be afraid of it."

[1] *The Units of Government in the United States.* Public Administration Service, 1943.

What a Soldier Talks About in a London Flat

You would have been interested in a conversation the other night in a flat in Berkeley Square, with eight or ten Britishers and I discussing proportional representation with as much enthusiasm as a similar group of Americans would have discussed the latest Hollywood movie. I wondered in how many living rooms in the United States a similar group could spend half an hour as intelligently on this important topic.

From a letter from Lieutenant Colonel KARL DETZER, member of the Council of the National Municipal League and former roving editor for *Reader's Digest.*

Small Political Parties Casualties of War?

Fear of alien influences, "isms," fifth column activities leads to agitation for legislation aimed at keeping more than two parties off ballot.

By HUGH A. BONE
Queens College, New York City

MINOR political parties are on the road to becoming one of the casualties on the home front. Since the beginning of international tensions a decade ago they have found it increasingly difficult to obtain funds and to secure a place on the ballot. With the outbreak of the European war in 1939 their position has been rendered even more precarious. In the November 1942 elections there were fewer third party candidates for U. S. senator, representative, governor or other statewide offices than in 1940—a total of 293 against 375 two years before. Together with independent nominees they polled in the Congressional elections of 1942 only 563,018 votes, or 2 per cent of the total. This may be compared with the 1938 Congressional vote wherein minor parties cast 1,334,222 or 3.7 per cent of the votes.

Minor party candidates appeared in only twenty states in 1942 and there was a proportionately greater decline in nominations for state over federal offices. The Communist party put forward only eleven candidates in 1942 as compared with fifty-nine in 1940 while Socialist nominees dropped from seventy to fifty-one. The Prohibitionists showed the smallest drop —from ninety-two to eighty-three. The Communists were unable to muster the necessary 50,000 votes for their gubernatorial nominee in New York in order to retain a position on the ballot.

Two local parties, however, made a creditable showing in 1942. The Progressives in Wisconsin elected a governor and the American Labor party in New York polled well over 400,000 votes for its gubernatorial nominee. In many Congressional districts, however, the party supported Democratic candidates.

Reasons for Decline

There are many reasons for the decline of minor parties. A convenient explanation is public apathy, an apathy which affected the major parties as well in 1942. But this hardly explains the difference between the Socialist vote of 590,400 in 1916 and of 117,000 in 1940, particularly in view of the smaller electorate in 1916.

Undoubtedly the various Socialist and Farmer-Labor parties have, in recent years, lost many former "protest votes" to the Democrats because of the social program of the New Deal. Many of the reforms advocated by minority parties have seen enactment into federal and state law during the past decade. As a result these groups are badly in need of rehabilitation and revitalization. The postwar issues now on the horizon will give the lesser parties an opportunity

to champion new programs of political action.

More serious, however, is the fact that even before the outbreak of war in 1939, the American public was becoming increasingly suspicious of alien influences, "isms," and fifth column activity. There has been a tendency to associate subversive influences with minor political groups and this in turn has led to agitation to keep their names off the ballot. State legislatures have resorted to extraordinary devices to make minor party nominations more difficult.[1]

These have been of three types: (1) financial restrictions, (2) amendment of laws relating to nominating petitions, and (3) prohibition by statute or administrative ruling of "un-American" parties, or those which have "international connections", or advocate the overthrow of government by force and violence. The first two methods were well established before 1939, but since that time they have been extended and made more stringent. The third is largely an outgrowth of unfavorable reaction to the Russo-German pact of 1939.

Restrictions on Nominations

Arkansas requires a fee of fifty cents for each presidential elector in each of the counties of the state. This amounts to $327.50 for the nine presidential electors—an obvious hardship on the smaller parties.

The Maryland General Assembly in 1941 passed a law which provides a means whereby the names of candidates can be placed on the ballot by a certificate of nomination. This law requires a notary signature (usually twenty-five cents) for each name signed on nominating petitions, the number of signers varying according to the importance of the office. Thus, an independent, new, or minor party candidate for a state office would have to pay $500 in addition to the regular filing fees. A full legislative ticket would cost thousands of dollars. Furthermore, the act requires that the names of all signers of such petitions shall be published in the newspapers. In Indiana each signature must also be notarized and a similar rule has been established by administrative order in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont.

The most popular method of keeping third parties off the ballot is the requirement of a prohibitive number of signatures together with strict requirements for accepting names. Illinois has one of the most stringent laws in this respect. It requires 25,000 names on a nominating petition for statewide offices with not less than 200 signers from each of fifty counties. This has the effect of excluding both workers' parties whose main support lies in the cities, and farmers' parties whose strength is found almost exclusively in rural areas. This law kept Communist candidates off the ballot both in 1938 and in 1940 though they secured 25,000 signers, mostly in Cook County.

California requires approximately 175,000 signatures for a nominating petition and Ohio requires 15 per cent of the vote cast in the last election in order for a minority party to place its candidates on the ballot

[1]For a summary of some of these devices together with a note on the various state laws in this connection see *Minority Parties on the Ballot* (mimeograph) American Civil Liberties Union, New York, 1943.

under its own label. The Florida election code makes no provision for independent or new party nominations. Candidates are nominated by primaries and a political party is defined as one having registered as members thereof at least 5 per cent of the state's total registered voters.

Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, attempted in the spring of 1940 to arouse public sentiment against what he termed "petition tricks" designed to work a hardship on his and other minor parties. Among the more cumbersome of the laws he found were those requiring such parties to "file their petitions at an absurdly early date. Among the worst offenders in this respect is California in which recently a New Deal legislature made it impossible for a new or minority party to get on the ballot unless by February 15 — more than eight months before the election — a petition should be filed containing the signatures of 10 per cent of the vote cast at the last election—a plainly impossible requirement. In Pennsylvania the filing date was April 3, Oklahoma May 3, Michigan May 5, and West Virginia May 13. Kansas, Kentucky, and Nevada are among the other states requiring the filing of petitions at dates before July 1, that is, before the Democratic Convention will have been held."[2]

Mr. Thomas also called attention to North Carolina, "where in 1936 the Attorney-General ruled that each of the necessary 10,000 signers of nominating petitions would be guilty of fraud unless they actually join the Socialist party, not merely desire that the party should get the benefits of a place on the ballot." Minnesota prohibits the collection of signatures prior to the day of the primary so that a small party is allowed less than thirty days in which to collect the required 2,000 signatures.

Outlawry of Subversive Parties

Prior to 1939 the laws of Arkansas, Delaware, Indiana, and Tennessee excluded from their ballots the candidates of parties which advocate the overthrow of government by force and violence. In spite of the fact that the Communist party as early as 1938 disavowed the use of violence and came out "unqualifiedly for the right of the majority to direct the destinies of our country," the laws of Arkansas and Indiana were invoked to deny the Communists an opportunity to present a ticket. The California legislature in 1940 barred from the ballot political candidates using the word "Communist" as a part of their party designation. A ruling from the Attorney-General and/or the Secretary of State barred Communists in 1940 from the ballot in Arizona, Georgia, Kentucky, and New Mexico.[3] Meanwhile in 1940 the official severance of the American Communist party from the Communist International was completed. Yet between the signing of the Russo-German pact in 1939 and the German attack on Russia in June 1941, nine more states enacted legislation barring Communist candidates from the ballot. These were Illinois, Kansas, Ohio, Oregon, Oklahoma, Texas, Wisconsin, and Wyo-

[2] "Undemocratic Tendencies of Election Laws Against Minority Parties," delivered over NBC, May 25, 1940.

[3] See "The Communist Party and the Ballot," (mimeographed) Council of State Governments, Chicago, 1941.

ming. Arkansas strengthened its existing laws in this respect. Similar legislation was considered but failed of passage in Colorado, Idaho, Massachusetts, and Michigan.

In May 1942 a special committee in Pennsylvania, headed by the Governor, ruled the Communists off the ballot as a party advocating the overthrow of government by force. The Secretary of State in Ohio banned the Communist ticket on similar grounds. In the meantime some substance was given to these rulings by the decision of Attorney-General Biddle in the case of Harry Bridges to the effect that the Communists advocated the use of force.

Evils of Restrictive Legislation

Regardless of the motives prompting state assemblies to reduce the number of minor party nominees or to keep a party off the ballot, such action seems short-sighted for several reasons. In the first place, restrictive legislation amounts in many cases to a denial of effective political expression to minorities, a policy hardly in keeping with the professed ideals for which the nation is fighting.

Secondly, these laws work a hardship on independent nominees and on new parties as well as on the established minor parties. Moreover, such parties as the Farmer-Labor, Prohibition, Progressive, and Socialist have contributed many constructive ideas to the American system of government. Though many of their adherents were strongly isolationist before Pearl Harbor, they have pledged full support to the war effort and have worked zealously to preserve civil liberties during the war period.

In numerous cities local third parties have been reformist in character and have put to rout boss rule and rehabilitated the city's government. Should citizen movements of this character desire to place a slate of nominees before the electorate they would find themselves, in a number of states, seriously frustrated by law.

Finally, the wisdom of prohibiting so-called "subversive" or "un-American" parties may be questioned. Such laws are obviously directed at the Communist party. But it should be recalled that the Communists today constitute some of the most vigorous workers for all-out war against the Axis. When Mr. Browder's prison sentence was commuted by President Roosevelt on May 12, 1942, the former promised "to intensify every effort to weld unbreakable national unity under the Commander-in-Chief for victory in the war."

For those unconvinced of the professed good intentions of the Communists it may be pointed out that to refuse their candidates an opportunity to run for public office is apt merely to drive the activities of the organization underground. When a group places the names of its nominees and officials before the public and submits nominating petitions with hundreds of names and addresses of its followers, an important part of the party's personnel and activities is brought into the open.

Remedies

Where the law or an administrative officer rules Communists off the ballot because of their "international connections" or as a party advocating violence, some relief may be had

from the courts. The California Supreme Court, in July 1942, declared the law of that state unconstitutional on the ground that it was discriminatory. The Court did not say that the legislature lacked the power to deny the use of election machinery "to particular groups of dangerous citizens," but held that inadequate proof had been submitted that the Communist party fell within such a category. In the fall of 1942 a United States District Court invalidated a similar law in Illinois.

In complimenting the California court on its decision the *Baltimore Sun* on July 23, 1942, summarized the situation in these words: "It can be argued, of course, that the California court could have referred to several decisions in federal district courts and to Attorney-General Biddle's ruling in the Bridges case in support of the proposition that the Communist party does advocate such a policy. But the Supreme Court of the United States has not yet supplied any final verdict on that point or on the question of barring a party on such grounds. Until it does, the sensible course would seem to be that chosen by the California justices, to resolve all reasonable doubts in favor of full freedom of the ballot."

On the other hand, the Supreme Court has consistently avoided a declaration in the matter. In a decision on June 21, 1943, in the case of William Schneiderman, Russian-born California Communist leader, the Court again specifically declined to pass upon the question of whether the Communist party at the present time advocates the use of violence to obtain political control. The majority decision, however, declared that "the party in 1927 desired to achieve its purpose by peaceful and democratic means and as a theoretical matter justified the use of force and violence only as a method of preventing an attempted forcible counter-overthrow once the party had obtained control in a peaceful manner, or as a method of last resort to enforce the majority will if at some indefinite future time because of peculiar circumstances constitutional or peaceful channels were no longer open."

It is also possible that the Communist party may be able to bolster its case in the courts by pointing to the recent dissolution of the Comintern and successfully argue that both legally and actually it no longer has "international connections."

So far as minor parties in general are concerned a uniform federal law governing federal elections is desirable. With the furor raised against such proposals as the federal soldiers vote and anti-poll tax laws, the possibility of enactment seems highly remote. Citizen organizations and political parties must, for the present at least, look largely to remedial legislation and to the removal of onerous restrictions in each state.

The American Civil Liberties Union has prepared a model law for nominations other than by primaries which seems to guard against the various petition hardships and at the same time guarantees that the ballot will not be cluttered with irresponsible candidates.[4] This proposed law

(Continued on Page 565)

[4]See *Minority Parties on the Ballot*, pp. 11-16. This law is based upon a Wisconsin statute.

State Executive Departments Play Growing Part in Lawmaking

Over three-fourths of program advanced by New York's administrative agencies accepted by 1943 legislative session.

By ELISABETH McK. SCOTT
Director of the New York Legislative Service

WE HAVE for some time recognized the growing part administrative agencies play in state and federal lawmaking.[1] Whether we wish to accept this change in our democratic form of government or to attempt to counteract it, we must recognize the whole substructure of legislative machinery which the change has produced. Clerks' manuals describing a legislative procedure handed down from generation to generation offer the public only a part-picture of the present-day pattern of lawmaking.

The departments of our state governments have gradually, one by one, adopted the procedure not only of making recommendations in reports to the legislature, but of drafting those recommendations as bills and sending them, with a request for their passage, to the chairmen of the committees of each house to which they would be referred.

The handful of legislative representatives and counsel who watch legislation most closely take full cognizance of the attitude of administrative agencies on legislation, but they do so through personal contact and correspondence, rather than through channels of general public information. To these men, and to members of the legislature, the paths to the State Office Building are as well known as are the rules of the Senate and the Assembly. The policies and procedure of the various departments and other agencies of the state government are gathered by them by experience, and are passed on by word of mouth. They form the unwritten law of the lobbyist, the technical equipment of the legislative expert. He knows, for instance, that all department proposals are introduced, with hardly an exception, by the chairmen of the committees to which the bills are referred, and that bills sponsored by departments stand a better chance of enactment than do those sponsored by private agencies.

The legislator or lobbyist with experience in modern methods of lawmaking asks before reading a bill: "Who is behind it? What support does it have?" He avoids the main obstacle to the public's watching legislation, that is, the necessity of reading every bill, and does not even attempt what the average citizen complains he has no time for. The legislative representative gives serious consideration only to those bills with important organized support, particularly with administrative support.

[1]See O. Douglas Weeks, "Recent Developments in the State Legislative Process," *State Government,* July 1943; Elisabeth McK. Scott and Belle Zeller, "State Agencies and Lawmaking," *Public Administration Review,* Summer 1942.

In this way he not only saves a great deal of time and effort but, by concentrating on the proposals of the administrative agencies—and of the major private organizations—he is able to anticipate and understand legislative trends.

In New York State, out of 712 bills enacted in the 1943 session, departments of the state government were responsible for 141 of the new laws—three-fourths of their proposals:[2]

Department	*No. Bills Proposed*	*No. Bills Enacted*
Agriculture & Markets	6	3
Audit & Control	2	2
Banking	6	6
Civil Service	7	7
Conservation	31	24
Correction	0	0
Education	13	10
Executive	19	15
Health	6	6
Insurance	3	3
Labor	8	7
Law	3	3
Mental Hygiene	0	0
Public Service	8	4
Public Works	20	14
Social Welfare	5	3
State	4	3
Taxation & Finance	41	31
	182	141

The second question asked by those legislatively "in the know" is: "What's the purpose of the bill? Why is it wanted?" Bills, like icebergs, are five-sixths under the surface, and their size, shape, and significance are not always seen by looking at the surface of the legislative waters—at the printed bill alone. It is necessary to go to the sponsoring agency to find out what court decision, what need or problem gave rise to the proposal.

Most of the bills referred to the legislature by a department of the state government are accompanied by supporting or explanatory memoranda ending with a request for the bill's enactment. These are what the busy legislator asks for before, or instead of, reading the bill itself. Bills without such explanations are often impossible to understand.

Many of the seemingly dull administrative measures indicate important trends in departmental policy, or are significant in their effect on the efficiency and economy of state government. While taxpayer groups direct their attention to a few spectacular tax measures or appropriation bills, they miss many an opportunity buried in proposals like the recent Health Department bill to permit a county to abolish the county hospital, or that of the Department of Public Works to provide for construction of certain local highways by the state.

Public Relations

The legislative work of the departments, varying greatly as it does, can perhaps be better understood as part of departmental public relations. Considered from this viewpoint, departments fall generally into three groups, according to the fact and degree of relationship with the public.

Of the eighteen New York State departments, the Departments of

[2]In recording the legislative output of state departments in 1943, the first year of Governor Dewey's administration, it must be remembered that about half the departments were functioning under hold-over commissioners during the legislative session, so that they were far less active in formulating legislative proposals than usual. A record of the departmental output of the two preceding sessions, the last two years of Governor Lehman's administration during which the departments were functioning more normally, showed: in 1941, departments responsible for 240 of 955 laws enacted; in 1942, departments responsible for about 200 of 943 new laws.

Audit and Control and of Law have little or no direct contact with the public, acting chiefly as an agency for other departments. Although the formal opinions which the Attorney-General renders to departments are always available to the public, the memoranda these two departments prepare in support of their legislative recommendations are usually held to be confidential, available only to the Governor or to the department concerned.

Two of the others, Banking and Insurance, deal chiefly in their legislative work with highly organized groups representing the private interests in these fields. These groups, although invariably consulting with the departments in connection with legislative proposals, employ counsel well able to draft bills themselves. Department influence may often cause such groups to refrain from introducing or to modify proposals to which the department is opposed.[3] Since the period of banking reform, the Banking Department has confined its legislative program to comparatively few technical proposals, usually considerably less in number than the proposals sponsored by private banking associations. The Insurance Department in recent years has been much more active, sponsoring proposals involving considerable social and economic change.

Other departments, such as Agriculture, Education, Health, and Labor, maintain the widest public relations and do a great deal to assist individuals and groups who find difficulties in the present provisions of the law and who suggest what seem to the departments reasonable changes. In some cases the entire program of a department originates in the suggestions of trade associations and other private organizations, modified by the department's own views.

Department counsel hold conferences with those interested in the contemplated changes in the law in order to secure general agreement; draft the bills, referring them to the legislature with a request for passage. The Labor Department has for years held regular conferences in the fall, of which no public announcement is made, but to which certain lawyers and employer and employee representatives are invited. Suggestions for change, both from within the department and from outside groups, are considered and those accepted by the Department are drafted for introduction during the coming session.

Private Groups Assisted

The Department, as part of its legislative work, gives assistance, for instance, to the State Federation of Labor in preparing legislation, at times offering it the opportunity of sponsoring a departmental bill. Departments, unlike private groups, seek no credit for legislative achievement. They are interested in making the law they administer as workable as possible rather than in making a legislative record and usually prefer to remain as much in the background as possible. For this reason departmental influence is greater than an

[3]For example, during the 1943 session a bill was introduced to permit savings banks to invest in low-cost housing. The State Savings Bank Association denied sponsorship of the bill, stating that, though it had prepared it, it would not recommend passage until the Banking Commissioner had had time to study and to approve it.

actual table of department bills indicates, as department counsel so often modify, if not actually draft, bills sponsored by others.

Although the State Federation of Labor sponsors annually a program of fifty or more bills, made up chiefly of the resolutions of its member unions submitted at the annual fall convention, it is rare that these requests succeed in being enacted. On the other hand, its less extensive program of what are known as "agreed" bills, offered by the Federation on consultation with the Department of Labor and legislative leaders, fares well at the hands of the legislature.

Work of Private Groups

Department counsel may be approached at any time of year with proposals for change in the law, but the intensity of the Department's work depends not only on the problems to be met, but on how far the work of private groups in the field is meeting them. The Department of Social Welfare, for instance, is less active in influencing legislation than is the State Charities Aid Association, a semi-private organization which for years has advised governors and legislatures in the formulation of welfare legislation.

In this first year of a Republican administration and a Republican-controlled legislature, the Department of Audit and Control has taken a part comparable to that of other departments in formulating legislation in its field, after being overshadowed by the State Conference of Mayors and the Association of Towns during the years of Democratic administration.

From department memoranda the public could learn much of the methods used in preparing legislation for a smooth passage through the legislature. A 1943 memorandum of the New York State Labor Department in support of a State Federation of Labor proposal says:

> Shortly after the enactment of Chapter 824 of the Laws of 1942 adding a new section 202 to the Labor Law (relating to the protection of persons engaged in window cleaning), the Board of Standards received a considerable volume of correspondence from building owners throughout the state requesting interpretations of the law and seeking information as to its application and as to the content of prospective industrial code rules requested to supplement the statute. . .
>
> In recognition of the responsibilities of writing new rules supplementing the law the Board convened a representative Advisory Committee to assist in the preparation of these rules. This Committee consisted of representatives of organized labor in the window cleaning industry, employer groups engaged in the business of window cleaning, together with representatives of real estate and hotel interests in New York City. For the information of this Committee the Board prepared a factual background tracing the history of Section 202. . .

Or, in connection with a bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Law, to make it unnecessary for a workman injured in the employment of a non-insured employer to prove negligence of the employer in an action for damages, the State Labor Department memorandum closes with:

> The proposal has been agreed to by representatives of labor, insurance carriers, and employers in conference with representatives of the Department of Labor.

As few bills are debated on the floor of the legislature and as no

record of the meetings of committees —except of public hearings—is kept, it is often difficult for the public to understand the reasoning of the legislature in taking action on bills. In view of this lack of legislative record, the memoranda issued by departments and other government agencies are the best available evidence of legislative intent. In them the student will learn legislative history, as in:

> This subdivision (subdivision 10, Labor Law) was enacted at a time when the memory of such disasters as the Triangle Waist Company and the Diamond Candy Company fires was still fresh in the minds of the legislature. It was intended then to make the law limiting the number of workers permitted to be employed in new factory buildings as rigid and inflexible as possible.—Labor Department Memo in re Chapter 416.

Others discuss basic theories of government:

> The review procedure established under this bill, being essentially quasi-judicial in character, is properly lodged in the Board of Standards and Appeals inasmuch as the subject matter of the legislation, viz. the registration of union labels and devices, is entrusted to the Department of Labor.
>
> In addition to the appellate functions enumerated above the Board possesses quasi-judicial powers of an original type, such as the approval of certificate of incorporation of certain labor organizations. . . The requisites of a fair hearing and notice are properly provided for in the bill in keeping with sound administrative law procedure.—Labor Department Memo in re Chapter 474 of 1943.

Publicizing department legislative documents might do much to decrease the mass of legislation introduced annually and thus facilitate public watching of the process. It is probable that many of the "perennials" reappearing regularly only to die in committee would be withheld or modified if those interested in the bills knew the reasons of administrative agencies for disapproving them. A bill seeking to set up a fur authority in the Labor Department has been introduced several successive sessions in the legislature, but has never been reported out of committee. The Conservation Department issued a memorandum stating in part:

> There are in the state approximately 125,000 persons who engage in trapping fur-bearing animals . . . for the most part made up of farm youths in school who through their trapping efforts make about sufficient funds to pay for their text books, keep themselves in pocket change, and contribute something toward the cost of their clothing. . .
>
> It definitely is necessary that the department have regulation and control over the groups who harvest the fur-bearing animals of the state if it is to carry out its mandate to manage these resources in ways that scientific research indicate are calculated best to do the job. There should be no division of control over these groups; and their activities are too well tied in with the Conservation Department to make it desirable to shift to another department any measure of control over them.

At present only two of the New York State departments prepare their legislative memoranda in mimeographed form so that copies are available to more than a few officials—the Department of Conservation and the newest of the Labor Department's divisions, the Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance. Other department memoranda are typewritten and are sent, for the most part, to about a dozen officials, usu-

ally the bill's introducers, committee chairmen, party leaders, the Governor's counsel, etc. Occasionally a department takes the position that its legislative memoranda are confidential to the legislature and the Governor; that its arguments, if publicized, might be used against the administration in another connection. Only two of the departments prepare no memoranda until the bills are before the Governor, preferring to be free to negotiate and to modify their proposals during the legislative session.

Other Agencies' Programs

Comparable to departments in the importance of their legislative proposals and in the careful preparation of their supporting arguments, are the Judicial Council, the Law Revision Commission, and the temporary legislative committees or commissions set up by the legislature for work in a particular field. The Moffat Municipal Finance Commission and the Ives Committee on Industrial and Labor Relations, continued annually over a period of several years and working continuously in collaboration with the administration and with interested private groups, initiate legislation comparable in importance to that of the departments. Like the departments, such committees submit explanatory arguments in support of their proposals, including them in the annual report which they are required to submit to the legislature. As these reports are usually not available in printed form until near or after the close of the session they are often made available earlier in mimeographed form. The Law Revision Commission has an abstract of its supporting memorandum printed at the end of each bill it recommends. It also provides a limited number of mimeographed copies of its full memos, printed copies a short time later, and reprints them in full in its annual report. The Commission's unusual record in securing enactment of its recommendations—fifteen out of a twenty-four-bill program having become law this year—is undoubtedly in part due to its excellent work of publicizing its supporting memoranda.

Availability of department documents with their factual, informative discussion of administrative issues and general governmental policies involved in proposals under consideration would be of tremendous value in building an informed public opinion on state legislative issues, as well as in training citizens for participation in lawmaking. Senator Langer's recent proposal to Congress to provide for additional senators to advise their states with respect to matters before the federal departments and other agencies is an evidence of the difficulty felt even in official groups of following legislative measures. Old rules which no longer function, new practices, both of the legislature and of the administration, need to be clearly restated and appraised.

In clearing away dead wood from the legislative process and in bringing into light present-day procedures, a more direct relationship between the public and the legislature could be established. Failure to recognize legislative realities and to utilize existing aids makes participation difficult and tends to turn the public to methods of law evasion rather than of law reform.

East Cleveland Celebrates 25 Years of Council-Manager Government

City reduces debt 83 per cent despite millions spent for major improvements; rated third best governed city in its population group.

By PATRICIA KNOWLTON
Life

THE political situation in East Cleveland is about as breath-taking as the annual financial statement submitted by your insurance company," editorialized the *Cleveland News* in 1939. "The municipal budget is healthy, as usual."

The municipal budget, in 1943, is so healthy that it shows an 83 per cent net debt reduction since 1927, from $3,079,008 to $529,609, in serial bonds.

And East Cleveland's politics, since an abortive restlessness in the deep depression, have been nothing to enliven a dull day. Candidates for city commissioner are unopposed this fall, as they were two years ago. The city manager who was appointed in October of 1922 seems in a fair way to hold office for another twenty years.

The Citizens Manager Plan Committee, through whose efforts East Cleveland adopted a council-manager charter twenty-five years ago, still functions; some of the same business, professional, and public-minded people who cajoled candidates into the hundred-dollar-a-year job of commissioner in 1917 are still guiding campaigns.

The city's first Commission (council) comprised a hotel manager, a department store executive, an industrial executive, a prominent lawyer, and the head of a large supply business. Today's commissioners are an industrial credit manager, an electrical engineer, an industrial executive, an insurance man, and a railroad comptroller. Once, for several terms, there was a lady commissioner.

Charles A. Carran, the city manager, and former president of the International City Managers' Association, came to East Cleveland as finance director after serving as assistant state examiner of public offices. A lean, quiet gentleman with a background of accounting and law, he became manager in January 1923, and has pleased a varying population, if a not-so-variable Commission, ever since.

While city administration has remained stable, nonpartisan, and efficient, the city itself has changed over a quarter of a century. In 1917 East Cleveland's three square miles supported a maturely elegant suburb, given over on the whole to substantial frame houses with anterior verandas and polygonal cupolas.

The homes still stand, painted gray and yellow on the outside and full of dark woodwork within. But one third of the population is now housed in apartments, and a third in double houses. From a town of 25,000 East Cleveland, in the same area, has grown to more than 42,000, with a

population shift of 50 per cent in the last ten years.

It maintains itself, as the Lions Club says, as a "Place to Live," although per capita property valuation is now equal to that of Cleveland proper or of Lakewood, considerably below the newer suburban levels.

The middle of the middle income brackets, whose average income is estimated at the Cuyahoga County average, live in East Cleveland now. There are some twenty Negro residents in the city, a corner of "Little Italy," a hillside where new suburban homes have gone up lately. There are sixteen churches of several denominations, and one Catholic on the Commission.

Industry has been most unwelcome, relegated by a zoning plan inaugurated as early as 1919 to the region of the Nickel Plate and New York Central Railroad tracks.

A few big industries, the Austin Engineering Company, General Electric's befountained Nela Park Research Institute, have grown up with the community. A recent growth of temporary war plants has taken place along the railroad tracks. For goods and services the suburb relies mainly on Cleveland, apart from the grocery stores and little shops along a few main streets. Eighty-five per cent of the city property valuation is broken down as real estate, 10 per cent as public utilities, and 5 per cent intangible property.

The civic interest of East Clevelanders runs high on matters of improvement, low on politics. A Community Council, representing fifty-five organized groups and the community at large, meets once a month and carries home the current city news.

The Citizens Manager Plan Committee is open to all public-spirited persons, and includes among its hundred-odd names many business leaders, the ministry, the professions, women's groups, from all sections of the city.

This is the committee which has made survival of the manager plan its business, has recruited candidates and issued literature. Once, in the depression, an opposition developed —there was dissatisfaction with the manager plan—and East Cleveland acquired two partisan commissioners. They were not re-elected.

Excellent Financial Management

One reason for East Cleveland's high degree of content is the financial management which saw it through the depression years with bi-weekly garbage collections and no deficiency bond issues, which provided for the three hundred families on relief, and paid all salaries on the day due.

The city last year allotted two-thirds of its revenue to operation, the rest to debt and service.

Financially as conservative as possible, East Cleveland has nevertheless shown a progressive spirit in its $10,500,000 worth of public improvements over the last twenty-five years. It is admirably equipped with playgrounds and street lights, swimming pool, and the 180-acre estate which John D. Rockefeller presented to East Cleveland and Cleveland Heights for development into a park. Its paving and sewering are nearly impeccable, and annual per capita fire loss was 77 cents in 1942.

In 1925 the city established a baby dispensary aimed at preventive medicine. With the issuance of a birth certificate goes a memorandum on the dispensary which offers free service to children under three years. The city has also worked out a plan for using the tuberculosis clinic at Huron Road Hospital in Cleveland.

The Police Department installed a two-way radio system in 1939, and its current pet is the lie detector, which, the city management says, "We use for just about everything."

Postwar Plans

Looking forward, the citizens will vote in November on a $200,000 street improvement bond issue, to be used for postwar improvement.

"If we're going to do all the things we hope for after the war," Finance Director Grant Apthorp said as he left in September for a military government school, "we'll have to have something to do it with.

"Whenever people complain about taxes—the city tax rate is .79—I just show them the 1918 annual report."

The 1918 report, one of the first of the statements which East Cleveland has distributed to every citizen each year, reads, under Police Department:

> The Department is equipped with a motorcycle. The automobile owned by the department in 1917 was turned over to the Water Department at the first of the year, and automobile service was had by hiring a taxi. . . . However, the latter part of the year, some trouble was experienced in getting a taxi just when one was needed. . . .

In the City Hall a secretary or a law director might still be loaned, with a minimum of ceremony, to another department. "We are functionally organized," was the way Manager Carran put it. "There is no hewing to department lines."

East Cleveland, in a university survey held in 1938, was rated the third best governed city under 50,000 population in the United States.

City Employee Survey

HAVING voted unanimously for a survey of Indianapolis city government, the city council has assumed responsibility for having the work done by a competent and disinterested agency. The National Municipal League is in a position to render this service, as are various other agencies.

The study of Indianapolis governmental operations is intended to show how many persons work for the city, their salaries, the nature of their services and the manner whereby they are chosen. Equally valuable will be a professional appraisal of each job's importance. Councilmen are hopeful that although the report may recommend higher pay in key positions, it will propose the elimination of needless employees and functions to bring about a saving in the cost of government. The mayor has indicated that he may order a survey of his own.

If Indianapolis had the city manager form, conducted in the same manner as a successful business venture, there would be no necessity for counting noses because nobody would be hired unless needed. The movement to obtain a constitutional amendment enabling cities to choose the manager form of government was defeated at the 1943 session of the Indiana general assembly. This, however, is regarded as no more than a temporary delay in the fight to divorce city government from partisan control. Editorial, *Indianapolis News*

More Services for Less Money with Janesville Manager

Wisconsin city well pleased with its twenty years of council-manager plan; city affairs long free from politics.

By PERRY O'BRIEN
Janesville (Wisconsin) Daily Gazette

HAVING established a record of efficiency and economy second to none in his field and having brought national recognition to himself and the city which he manages, Henry Traxler is observing his twentieth anniversary as city manager of Janesville, Wisconsin.

Following the banquet at the Chicago conference of the International City Managers Association on September 13, Mr. Traxler was presented a certificate of honor "for his contribution to the proficiency of his fellow managers and his achievements in advancing municipal administration."

One of three city managers in the nation to have completed twenty-five years in that capacity, Mr. Traxler came to Janesville from Clarinda, Iowa, September 15, 1923, after serving the Iowa municipality for five years.

During that period ward politics and other evils known to municipal operations were alarming the voters of Janesville and in 1922 citizens voted to try the city manager type of government and Henry Traxler was "stolen" from Clarinda to tackle the job here.

The record he has made here in his twenty years of service has provided reams of copy for newspapers, magazines, political and municipal publications over the entire nation because of the efficient and economical manner in which the city has been operated.

The low rate of taxation and surprising solvency of the Janesville city government, even during the base of the depression, resulted in wide publicity for the city and its manager and the same story remains true today with cash balances in the face of a long list of public improvements, the envy of all cities in the nation the size of Janesville and many much larger in size.

Path of Continued Progress

With only a few minor political flareups, all of which were easily weathered by the veteran city official, Mr. Traxler can look back over his twenty years of service to Janesville with pride in the fact that cash balances have provided one of the finest park and recreational programs, an exceptional network of paved streets, outstanding efficiency in city offices, fire and police departments, a most modern school system, including a number of new school buildings, and a host of other improvements in beauty and efficiency not to be found in cities of this size which are as free of bonded indebtedness.

Since voters discarded the aldermanic system of government here and

put Henry Traxler at the helm the city treasury has been taking less money from Janesville citizens and giving them more services.

Today Janesville has the lowest tax rate and provides as much essential service as any city its size in the state. It has a very small bonded debt and for years has ended its annual fiscal operations with money in the bank. During the depression, when most cities were raising taxes, Janesville reduced its levies and covered the difference with cash reserves.

There is no sleight-of-hand involved in the methods Traxler and his aides use to accomplish more with less money. Viewed separately most of them seem almost inconsequential but add them up and you get the difference between exceptional and only fair business practices.

For example, under the old regime each city department requiring hose bought and cared for its own. Each department used its hose only part of the time and cared for it indifferently. Now the fire department purchases and cares for all hose needed by the city and loans it to other departments when needed. This method has reduced city hose purchases by one-third.

Although a centralized system of purchasing of city supplies has long been in practice here, it was only recently that another state city was praised nationally for adopting such a plan.

Although given little credit for developing scores of new methods of municipal efficiency the city manager says he is expected to produce and must expect public comment only when things are not running smoothly.

Under his directorship fire, police and street departments were mechanized, enabling them to operate more efficiently with less personnel and expense. Better trained police officers in radio cars, a motorized fire department centralized under one roof and a mechanized street cleaning department, with weekly rubbish pickups, are only some of the efficiency programs adopted in civic government here.

Free of Petty Politics

It is generally agreed in Janesville that the city for the past twenty years has enjoyed a continuity in government it had never before known. Its official life has been free of petty politics. Its city employees have been men and women hired and kept for their honest and efficient service. Its city council has constantly kept the best interests of the city at heart and above small group prejudices, acting wisely and without interference.

Twenty years ago Janesville had only the beginning of a Riverside Park, no municipal beach, no Palmer Park, no Jeffris Park, and no Monterey Park.

Today Janesville citizens point with pride to the regular improvements being made at beautiful Riverside Park with its fine road system and recreational advantages, including its new eighteen-hole municipal golf course. They also point to Monterey stadium and recall that only a few years ago refuse was dumped on that site.

The Goose Island development has produced a park completely made by dredging and filling. The beautiful wooded area that now constitutes Palmer Park has been improved with

roads, storm sewers, comfort stations, tennis and shuffleboard courts, picnic areas, wading pool, playground apparatus, and fireplaces. Many improvements are contemplated at Jeffris Park and all of this work accomplished without bond issues but with careful handling of city and federal funds.

Well located and equipped playgrounds are operated ten weeks each summer under the direction of capable recreational instructors.

The city's recreational park system of 460 acres was started from scratch in 1924 and had cost the municipality $617,371 up to the first of this year. The previous administration bought the land for Riverside Park in 1922 but no improvements were made until 1924.

During the twenty-year period many miles of water mains have been built until today practically every part of the city is serviced. The department has paid for its improvements out of its earnings.

Other tangible evidence of material progress under the Traxler management includes:

The improved city garage adjacent to the city hall, remodeling of the upper floor of the city hall for use of patriotic societies. Remodeling of the old high school into a modern vocational school and the erection of a new vocational work shop. Remodeling of the upper floor of the public library into an auditorium. Erection of the Monterey bridge by the state and the city's share paid for in cash.

A new armory was built. Five new schools were constructed and a large addition was built at the Grant School. A $206,000 sewage disposal plant was built at a cost to the city of $104,000 and the remainder from federal funds. A complete system of storm sewers has been put into operation.

A new pumping station and a nine-million-gallon reservoir was provided assuring the city of a three-day supply of water in case of pump failure.

Editor's Note.—From the *Janesville Daily Gazette* for September 15, 1943.

Commission Government

About the time Beatrice changed from the mayor-and-council form of city government to the commission form in 1912, the latter plan was hailed as an improvement.

Today no cities are going into the commission form, the defects of which have been clearly demonstrated. Chief of these is the fact that it combines the legislative authority with the administrative function. The same three men who hold the executive offices also pass ordinances, levy taxes, make appropriations.

Beatrice citizens recognized the defect after the commission plan had been in operation for six years. They tried and failed to elect three commissioners who agreed to use their salaries to hire a city manager.

This time, the proposal is to establish the council-manager plan according to the statute for that purpose. The idea is the same, improving administration of the city's business affairs.

Editorial, *Beatrice, Nebraska, Sun*

Contributors in Review

A MEMBER of the political science faculties of two universities, **Hugh A. Bone** (*Small Political Parties Casualties of War?*) has given much thought to governmental operations in this country. His brochure, *Smear Politics: An Analysis of 1940 Campaign Literature,* was published in 1941; his latest book, written jointly with L. V. Howard and titled *Current American Government: Wartime Developments,* is just off the press. Mr. Bone has contributed various articles to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW as well as to other publications in the field. From 1937 to 1942 he was with the University of Maryland; more recently he joined the staff of the Political Science Department of New York City's Queens College where he devotes part of his time to teaching in the Army Specialized Training Program.

A NATIVE of Cleveland, **Patricia Knowlton** (*East Cleveland Celebrates 25 Years of Council-Manager Government*) has had a lifelong opportunity to observe the successful operation of the council-manager plan in suburban East Cleveland and to be aware of the praise which Cleveland newspapers heaped on its neighboring community on the occasion of each annual report of progress. Now a researcher for *Life,* Miss Knowlton recently completed a year of reporting for the *Cleveland Press.* Graduated last year from Radcliffe College, where she studied English, anthropology, and assorted social sciences, as well as serving as business manager and president of a literary magazine, she was also an interested observer and minor participant in the Cambridge campaigns to throw off political machine domination through the adoption of "Plan E."

FOR the past six months **Perry O'Brien** (*More Services for Less Money with Janesville Manager*) has covered the Janesville, Wisconsin, City Hall beat for the *Janesville Gazette.* Previously he had covered the Court House beats in Walworth and Rock Counties for the same newspaper. Mr. O'Brien is a product of Wisconsin education. Graduating from Elkhorn schools, he proceeded to Marquette University's College of Journalism, following which he did newspaper work on Wisconsin weekly papers until he joined the editorial staff of the *Gazette* in 1938.

AS DIRECTOR of the New York State Legislative Service since 1935 **Elisabeth McK. Scott** (*State Executive Departments Play Growing Part in Lawmaking*) has had ample opportunity to watch the wheels go round in that state's legislative halls. Previously Miss Scott had given much of her time to international affairs. With an educational background which included a year at the Sorbonne, she became director of the program bureau of the Foreign Policy Association, which office she held for two years, planning discussions on foreign affairs, directing management of speakers, and arranging programs for educational institutions and other groups interested in foreign policy. Miss Scott spent a vacation of several months organizing a branch of Zonta in Berlin and visited branches of that organization in Prague and Vienna. Previous to her work with the New York Legislative Service, she joined the National Municipal League's staff as a volunteer, doing Citizens Council organization work in New York State.

Researcher's Digest: November

Employment in the postwar period as viewed by Minneapolis and Washington Bureaus; standards for fire department administrators; effect of the war on Alabama; sponsors instead of petitions.

THE research bureaus are thinking about postwar problems, which is an encouraging rift through the war clouds. The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington** and the **Minneapolis Research Bureau,** an affiliate of the Minneapolis Civic Council, have simultaneously looked into the question of postwar employment as affecting the entire welfare of a city, governmental and otherwise.

The reports of the two agencies complement each other. The one—three issues on "Postwar Minneapolis" in *fact,* the publication of the Minneapolis Bureau—looks into the prospects for postwar unemployment in Minneapolis and then into the mitigating prospects for reabsorption of the expected 50,000 job seekers into private employment. The other—*A Municipal Program for Post-Victory Employment,* Information Bulletin No. 87 of the Washington Bureau—gives complete directions for making a survey of municipal resources with a view to planning in advance a comprehensive program of postwar public works.

Minneapolis' technique for estimating the number of after-the-war unemployed is an interesting and exacting one. The Bureau has listed pre-war and present employment totals for every type of enterprise in the city, has estimated the various stresses and strains upon the employment market after the war, and has gone thoroughly into the industrial winds which may play upon this scene to affect employment totals.

This painstaking attention to detail is matched by the Washington Bureau, which has departed from the usual polemic type of plea for public works in general, and has gotten down to cases, citing lists of possible public works projects and giving complete and varied questionnaires for determining the resources, needs, and desires of the city.

Recommended is the word for both these publications.

Measuring Fire Losses

Another in the three-year program of Administrative Measurement Studies, *Fire Losses and Fire Risks,* has now been issued by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California.** The first in the series was *Determining Work Loads for Professional Staff in a Public Welfare Agency* and a third on *Fiscal Aspects of Metropolitan Consolidation* is expected soon.

The same meticulously scholarly approach which characterized the welfare study is evident in the new work on fire losses. Messrs. Simon, Shephard and Sharp classified all burnable property in the cities of Oakland and Berkeley, California, and have made searching analyses into the relationships between fire loss and type of occupancy, value of property, area, and all other factors which might possibly be associated with fire risk. The aim was to develop a classification and record-keeping method which would be of use in other cities which have the laudable desire to distinguish between their administrative efficiency in fire prevention and fire control and the natural risks inherent in the nature of the buildings and industries in the city.

The result of the study has been to suggest two alternative methods of maintaining classifications—the periodic survey method and the continuous rec-

ord method—and to show that certain types of classification are clearly related to fire loss, while others are not. To a layman it appears that the surveyors have made a distinct contribution to the field of administrative measurement, one which deserves study by those who are faced with the problem of trying their own strength in public administration.

Mailed Fist on Alabama

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama** had an interesting idea when it asked selected public officials in Alabama to write down their estimates of what the war has done to Alabama. The result is *War Comes to Alabama,* a small book jacketed attractively, as is usual with the Bureau's material, by a black and red paper cover showing a mailed fist coming down upon a map of the state. There are fifteen chapters discussing the impact of war upon population, public welfare, crime, public health, and all the rest of a state's governmental aspects. This will be a historical document when it is all over; at the moment it is a highly interesting excursion into Americana as well as into the problems of state government.

What's Wrong with the Primary?

An interesting proposal is advanced by James K. Pollock in *The Direct Primary in Michigan, 1909-1935* as a partial cure for the infirmities displayed by the primary system. He suggests, in this new publication of the **Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan,** that the fraud-inviting petition system be replaced by a sponsor system, whereby persons who want to run in the primary would have to present a small number of formal oaths by prominent citizens who were willing to aver, in so many words, that "in my opinion, my knowledge of the said candidate is sufficient to warrant my urging his election." The idea behind it is that quantity, represented by the signatories of the familiar petition, would be replaced by quality and that voters could then be guided by the solemn testimony of persons in whom they have confidence.

Professor Pollock also favors a shorter ballot as a step toward improving the direct primary but his examination of the workings of the system in Michigan leads him to the conclusion that the primary has only the defects of any democratic instrument, and he finds against a return to the convention system.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Fire

Fire Losses and Fire Risks. By Herbert A. Simon, Ronald W. Shephard, and Frederick W. Sharp. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California, 1943. x, 65 pp.

Postwar Planning

A Municipal Program for Post-Victory Employment. Seattle, Association of Cities and Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington, 1943. 18 pp.

Postwar Minneapolis. Parts I, II, and III. Minneapolis, Minneapolis Research Bureau, *fact* for July, August, and September, 1943. 8, 5, and 5 pp. respectively.

Primaries

The Direct Primary in Michigan, 1909-1935. By James K. Pollock. Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan, 1943. 81 pp.

State Government

War Comes to Alabama. University, Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama, 1943. vi, 141 pp.

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency
Charles P. Taft, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

'Teen Age and the War

PROBABLY few communities in the nation have failed to experience some evidence of the increase in juvenile delinquency which lately has occupied so much space in the public press. Those concerned with the welfare of children are generally aware of the reasons for this increase. The uprooting of families, the glamour of war adventure, the often unconscious sense that the uncertain future gives license to grab whatever satisfactions can be found today without counting cost or danger—all enter into the psychology of war.

The 'teen age is the hardest hit by this kind of pressure. At the very time when psychic and social "growing pains" are most acute, they find themselves lost in a kind of emotional No-man's Land. They are no longer children. Boys barely their elders have been called to man's estate and are under arms. More of their contemporaries are getting married. Still more are getting jobs. Even the best adjusted young people, with stable, sympathetic homes behind them, may feel lost in this high-speed, war-dizzy world.

All over the country, towns and cities are waking up to their responsibilities to these junior citizens. Activities of the Office of Community War Services of the Federal Security Agency present a cross-section of this nation-wide concern and activity. Coordinating functions of this Office keep it in touch with other federal agencies dealing with problems of child and youth welfare and education. It has operating responsibility for two programs which are closely related to the problem of protecting the welfare of young people in wartime. These programs are recreation and social protection.

The number of 'teen-age boys and girls throughout the nation who are getting into trouble of one sort or another cannot be accurately determined. The Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, estimates that juvenile courts dispose of about 200,000 cases a year—even in ordinary times. An outstanding trend in the mounting rates of juvenile delinquency is the increasing number of girls involved. Ordinarily, according to Children's Bureau reports, the ratio of boys and girls coming into children's courts is five to one. But the Bureau's estimates show that "whereas boys' cases increased in 1942 about 8 per cent over 1941, the girls' cases increased 31 per cent." Estimates from other sources indicate that among boys the most frequent charges are assault or other outbreaks of violence; among girls the increase seems to be linked with promiscuity or with behavior leading dangerously in that direction.

Like any estimate, these percentages based on juvenile court figures are simply indications of a general trend. They do not include any count of boys and girls who are in difficulties but do not reach the court — either because they are helped by some other means or because they are not helped at all. They do not allow for the varying grounds on which children may be

brought into juvenile courts—depending on the laws and the law enforcement and child welfare facilities, and the social and moral climate of the particular community. They do not reveal the wide differences in the experiences of different communities: there are actually some places where — because pressures on young people have not been so great or community safeguards have been unusually effective—the rate of delinquency has not gone up. But these are undoubtedly the exception rather than the rule.

Although accurate statistical data are not available, there is unmistakable evidence that the increasing number of young girls who are engaging in indiscriminate sex promiscuity constitutes a major problem in the spread of venereal disease—a menace to men in military service as well as to the young girls themselves.

Towns and cities all over the country are tackling it, and federal and state agencies are doing everything they can to help them.

On the law enforcement side the Social Protection Division of the Office of Community War Services works with the duly constituted local authorities and with their representatives in the Federal Security Administrator's National Advisory Police Committee. In much the same way, this office has the fullest coöperation of national officials representing such business groups as the hotel and taxicab and liquor industries. The National Police Committee has recently issued a new law enforcement manual which was discussed with and approved by the National Sheriffs' Association, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and by the various industries concerned such as hotels and taxicabs.

The section of this manual devoted to the problem of the 'teen-age girl represents the practical experience of local communities who have found constructive ways of dealing with this problem. One point repeatedly emphasized in the manual is that a hard-boiled "cracking-down" policy defeats its own ends. Experienced law enforcement officials do not make the mistake of some over-anxious citizens who think the way to handle young offenders is "to scare them to death."

Need Right Direction

Constructive methods are offered for directing delinquent young people in the right direction at the turning point in their lives when they come to police attention—methods which will provide them with the best supporting influences which our civilization offers.

It is pointed out that an experienced officer will not rush a young girl picked up for delinquency to the police station or sheriff's office without considering other alternatives, and calling upon all the help he can get in the community to prevent the neccessity of police or court action—that from the very outset, or better still in advance, such a case calls for the closest kind of working relationship between all the community services available. Police officers, social workers, school authorities, job training and job placement agencies, health departments, citizens' associations, churches, and military authorities in communities near Army and Navy posts—all of these are mentioned as agencies who can help, and who should be organized to help quickly, effectively, and in the interest of protecting youth.

Cited as the first resource to be looked into is, of course, the girl's own home—where perhaps if they realize what is at stake, her parents can help her redirect her interests. If so, she can be taken home without even entering her name on the police or juvenile court record.

Police have broken up red light districts because they were breeding spots for crime and disease. It is equally necessary to clean up places and conditions that are breeding spots for delinquency. In protecting girls from exploitation, special attention must be given to places of employment which violate age, wage, and hour laws—eating places which employ minors as "car hops," waitresses, hostesses, or cigarette and hat-check girls, bowling alleys employing pin girls, and the like. The same sort of supervision should be given to commercial amusement places —"juke" joints or taverns which permit frequenting and patronage by minors; unsupervised public dance halls, particularly so-called "taxi" dance halls; movies which do not separate unattended children from adults, especially those which fail to "police" balconies and galleries, or admit unescorted children to late or midnight shows.

Community Must Help

The law enforcement official has firsthand knowledge of these places and of the whole delinquency problem. Without his help, no community can get very far. But he is not a miracle man. Neither law enforcement officials nor community social agencies can make a preventive program work without community understanding and active, intelligent community support.

The next answer is to provide places where young people can have the right kind of good times. The work of the Recreation Division of the Federal Security Agency has included encouragement and help to communities in developing such places.

After-hours use of school buildings for social gathering, full utilization of such community resources as church parlors and civic club rooms, in season and out, have been encouraged.

Cities all over the country have been considering such 'teen-age needs. Many places are providing the boys and girls with "a place of their own." These differ in management and auspices, but all the successful ones have a lot in common: the kids help to run their own show; it has a "come hither" name—"Teen Town" and "School Door Canteen" are fair examples; it isn't stiff and formal; it offers a "bar" that serves soft drinks and milk, a good dance floor and a tireless nickel-free juke box; and it is crowded.

For boys and girls whose lives are in the main on a fairly even keel, this one simple opportunity for normal social contacts may be all that's needed to round out the picture. For others, adjustment to the business of growing up in wartime may include a new slant on school with a more realistic chance of participating in or preparing for some sort of war service. For still others, help in getting a job or in adjusting to the new freedom and responsibility of working and having a pay envelope may be a necessary part of the answer.

And now, as always, for those who have somehow missed the stability that a good home builds in childhood, the community must do its best to provide skilled, sympathetic redirection and rehabilitation.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

War Places Heavy Strain on Civil Service

New Recruitment Methods of Permanent Value

THE general manpower shortage in most of the country continues to create new problems for state and local governments as to retaining necessary personnel and obtaining new employees to replace men going into the armed services or to fill new jobs where expansion of activities becomes imperative. Salaries have been increased and new procedures have been developed to attract men and women into governmental service, both temporary and permanent.

Police and fire departments have presented special difficulties, and their strategic importance has intensified efforts of members in various cities to obtain more favorable treatment than municipal authorities have been willing to grant.

Wartime Pay Adjustments

Substantial wage and salary increases for most civil service workers are shown to have occurred during the war by a Civil Service Assembly survey of adjustments made by 133 federal, state, and local civil service agencies since December 1941. Increases were given usually by one or more of three methods—sliding scale increases generally with larger increases for lower paid employees, cost of living increases, and flat percentage increases.

Sliding scale methods, either with sliding amounts or sliding percentages, were used by 27 per cent of the agencies. Amounts of increases varied from $2.50 to $25 a month, and percentage changes were largely in a range of 5 to 10 per cent. Many agencies showed increases of flat monthly amounts to all employees—in effect a form of sliding scale increase since it results in a decreasing percentage as the rate of compensation rises.

Cost-of-living increases were made by about 14 per cent of the agencies, including three states—Louisiana, Maine, and Tennessee. Flat percentage increases granted by 13 per cent of the agencies ranged from 5 per cent to 25 per cent, with limiting maximum amounts in some instances.

Replies of 19 per cent of the agencies showed either a combination of these methods or some other form of adjustment, including increases merely in the minimum rates in the various classifications.

Recruiting Techniques

In order to learn the extent to which the war has caused changes in recruitment policies and practices of civil service agencies, and to determine whether such changes will be temporary or permanent, the Civil Service Assembly has recently made a survey of 136 such agencies. It was ascertained that recruiting procedures of permanent value have been developed by local, state, and federal personnel agencies. The wartime practices that appear to have the greatest chance of becoming permanent, according to the Assembly, are listed below. Most of them are closely related to existing procedures, rather than being radical departures. They indicate, however, that wartime conditions will have lasting effects on public personnel programs with respect to recruitment and maximum use of manpower.

1. Greater use of advertising through press, radio, posters, etc., to attract workers;

2. Scheduling examinations outside

regular working hours for convenience of applicants;

3. Making more liberal use of transfers to fill vacancies;

4. Development of records of employee skills to facilitate transfers and promotions;

5. Greater use of training programs for new workers, and to prepare employees for promotion;

6. Controlling absenteeism by checking on sick leave and other employee absences.

Several practices were to be abandoned when conditions permit, according to the survey report. Only four of the eighty-three agencies employing women in jobs filled previously by men, and three of the sixty-seven agencies permitting employees to take additional part-time jobs plan to make these provisions permanent. One agency now modifying physical standards reports this will be continued after the war; all of the agencies reporting they had lengthened the work day or work week plan to abandon this practice after the war. Waiving of residence requirements, relaxing of both upper and lower age limits, lowering or abolishing of training and experience requirements and use of continually open examination and eligible lists will be dropped as soon as possible by most of the agencies that had adopted these measures.

A large number of agencies indicated their interest in employee service programs but stated their inability to undertake them because of financial limitations. Smaller agencies were found to show a definite trend toward temporary adoption of recruitment of workers for part-time services, while the larger agencies indicated a similar trend with respect to employment of physically handicapped workers.

The Police Situation

Police qualifications have been relaxed by many state legislatures this year so that cities may make temporary appointments under reduced physical and educational standards, according to the American Municipal Association. In general the legislation excludes such temporary appointees from pension rights and civil service status.

Age limits were increased and mental and physical requirements decreased in many cities. For example, Louisville lowered educational requirements for policemen from one year of high school to eighth grade graduation. The starting age limit was raised from thirty-five to fifty and the health director was given power to lower minimum weight and age requirements.

To secure new men in Memphis, police salaries were raised, physical requirements lowered, and age limits changed. A grave situation recently arose, nevertheless, in the threat of a police strike to force reinstatement of two suspended patrolmen, coupled with demands for salary increases, shorter working hours, and restoration of a civil service law that was repealed in 1935. On October 20 the City Commission granted a further increase of fifteen dollars per month to all policemen and firemen, as well as certain other benefits.

In New York City the police and firemen were successful in obtaining enough signatures to petitions calling for a public referendum on the granting of yearly bonuses of $450 per man, because of increased work without added pay, for the duration of the war and six months after the signing of a peace treaty. The city government had not acceded to this demand. It was opposed by various civic groups, pointing out that a peace treaty might not be signed until long after the war, if ever; that the police and firemen are well paid compared to various other groups of employees, and that if the bonus, to cost $12,000,000 per annum, were approved the other groups might well de-

mand much higher total compensation than the city's strained budget could meet. On October 15 the Commerce and Industry Association obtained a court order restraining the placing of the question on the November 2 ballot, it being argued that the proposed local law establishing the bonus was not legally a matter for initiative and referendum. The organized police and firemen lost an appeal from the order.

Merit Systems Cover Some Employees of 48 States

In all of the forty-eight states certain employees are given merit system protection through departmental programs, and in twenty states all or a substantial portion of state employees are under formal merit system programs, the Civil Service Assembly reports. These are Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Virginia, and Wisconsin. Though their laws are similar in general principles, they differ in structure, powers, and duties of the administering agency and the number of positions covered. In six of the service-wide system states, the program is based in whole or in part on provisions in the state constitution.

New York State Civil Service Commission Revamped

The new president of the New York State Civil Service Commission announced on October 5 that the Civil Service Department would be streamlined by the combining of more than a dozen loosely knit units and the creation of the office of administrative director.

A new investigating staff will be formed to check on the reliability of statements by applicants for examinations, to follow up complaints, and to trace criminal records.

Missouri Constitutional Convention Gets Under Way

With the election of a president on the first ballot, adoption of rules for organization and procedure, and appointment of twenty-six committees, the Missouri Constitutional Convention has gotten off to a good start, according to Stratford Lee Morton, a delegate and chairman of the convention's Library, Information and Research Committee. Mr. Morton anticipates little partisanship in the work of the convention. He has supplied all delegates with copies of the *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League.

There is a separate Committee on Local Government for the city of St. Louis, St. Louis County, and Jackson County, because of the special problems of those metropolitan areas; it is headed by Professor William L. Bradshaw of the University of Missouri.

Indiana-Kentucky Boundary Fixed by Interstate Cooperation

An ancient dispute as to the boundary between the states of Indiana and Kentucky, near the city of Evansville, Indiana, was settled this year as a result of efforts of the Commissions on Interstate Coöperation of the two states. The dispute centered on an area known as Green River Island, formerly an actual island in the Ohio River. It was claimed by Kentucky, but because of the shifting of the river's course, the island became attached to the north shore—the Indiana side.

Following a conference of the two state commissions in 1939 special two-man commissions, appointed by the governors of the two states, carried on negotiations through which a boundary was determined by a joint survey. The Kentucky legislature in 1942 and the Indiana General Assembly in 1943 passed similar acts establishing the boundary. The interstate compact was

approved by Congress and signed by President Roosevelt June 29.

The valuable Evansville Water Works is on the "island," and as recently as 1935 had been the subject of a suit by Kentucky claiming that the plant was in that state and subject to tax assessment. The suit was unsuccessful. The newly established boundary places the water works in Indiana. The problem of proper policing for the two parts of the island remains to be met.

Missouri River Basin Studied by Interstate Committee

Composed of representatives of the governors of Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana and Wyoming, the Missouri River States Committee, Governor M. Q. Sharpe of South Dakota, chairman, held a series of meetings during the summer to secure information and ideas for the future development of this river basin of 600,000 square miles, according to *State Government*, organ of the Council of State Governments. Flood control, irrigation, power, navigation, recreation, and pollution abatement were discussed at gatherings where public officials, Congressional delegations, business groups, and others were present. The Committee was organized in June following disastrous floods. It is expected that a more permanent organization and work program will soon develop.

State of New York Issues Labor Textbook

A textbook on labor and industrial relations for use in high schools has been sponsored by the State of New York, constituting an innovation in its political history. Use of the book is optional, but those local school systems that adopt it will use it in a mandatory social studies course. The book was conceived and prepared by the Ives Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions, headed by Irving M. Ives, majority leader of the Assembly; this committee has actively functioned for the last five years in efforts to promote labor peace.

The book was prepared under the direction of William B. Groat, Jr., the committee counsel, with the aid of Dr. Phillips Bradley of Queens College, director of research, Dwyer W. Shugrue, chief assistant counsel, and others on the committee staff. It is reported to have been informally approved by the State Board of Regents.

Council Manager Plan News

At a general election on October 4 the town of **Bloomfield, Connecticut,** retained the town manager form of government under which it has operated for nearly three years. Votes in favor of the manager form were 465 and those opposed, 402. The issue had aroused much controversy. A pro-manager committee had sent to all voters a statement of many favorable results of the operation of the manager plan in Bloomfield, and the opponents likewise distributed a contrary statement. A campaign by word of mouth was also conducted by each side. Two newspapers of near-by Hartford supported the manager plan. Last year a majority of votes on a similar question were anti-manager, but the election on that issue was declared invalid on technical grounds. The opposition expected the manager plan to be defeated this time. A movement is now under way for organization of a town charter committee to draft a modern manager (or other) charter for submission to the state legislature, as it is felt that the present system, under a general statute, fails to define authority clearly.

Beatrice, Nebraska, on November 16 will vote on adopting the manager plan.

Berkley, Michigan, voted on September 14 to revise its charter to provide

for a manager, and elected a charter commission. The vote was 433 to 202.

A proposal for placing the question of adopting the council-manager plan before the voters of **Lansing, Michigan,** at the November election, was defeated by the Council of that city in September by a vote of twelve to two. The proposal was sponsored by Alderman Arthur E. Stoppel, who also advocated the formation of a nine-member charter commission if the voters favor the change.

In **Crystal City, Texas,** an ordinance establishing the manager plan was passed on August 12.

The **Marysville, California,** League of Women Voters has placed before the Chamber of Commerce a draft of a proposed city manager ordinance.

In **Midland, Michigan,** the question of drafting a new charter will be voted on at the February 21 primary. Petitions asking the vote were filed on October 5.

Alderman James B. Waller of **Chicago** has introduced in the city council a proposal to authorize an assistant to the mayor to be designed "city manager."

Home Rule Sought in Southern States

Municipal leagues in three southern states have had the question of home rule brought forcibly to their attention, according to *Southern City*.

In Louisiana Senator James J. Bailey, legislative member from East Baton Rouge, suggested to the Louisiana Municipal Association that a constitutional convention be called to clarify the status of home rule and local self-government in that state.

In North Carolina State Treasurer Charles M. Johnson, chairman of that state's Local Government Commission, urged the North Carolina League of Municipalities to revive the question of home rule, saying that the legislative hoppers are cluttered with local bills concerning everything from salaries of janitors to extension of city limits.

In Tennessee Judge W. C. Cherry, city attorney of Nashville, emphasized to the Tennessee Municipal League the need of a constitutional amendment providing for home rule charters for cities.

Prineville, Oregon, Solves Urban-Rural Fire Problem

After disastrous fires on industrial and residential property just outside the city limits of Prineville, Oregon, the city council of which refused to extend fire protection beyond the city except to property for which financial arrangements had been made in advance, the fire problem as to territory adjoining the city was met by annexation of part of the area and by a five-year contract between the city and the county, obligating the latter to pay the city a fixed sum for fire service, to be defrayed by a special tax on a fire protection zone that was established. Consultants of the League of Oregon Cities, writing in the October *Western City,* point out that a six-pronged approach to the problem was involved. Besides the annexation, the city-county arrangement, with some participation by the state fire marshall, has the aspects of a special or *ad hoc* district, intermunicipal coöperation, extraterritorial city administration, county administration, and state administration.

Intercity Cooperation Accelerated by War

In the fields of police and fire protection, and in the performance of certain other essential public services, coöperation between cities has been augmented by the war, according to a survey of 1943 state legislation by the American Municipal Association. New laws of some twenty states make it possible for neighboring cities to take joint action

in solving health, personnel, planning, police and fire protection, and other problems of common interest.

Minnesota and Pennsylvania adopted the most significant laws this year in the field of intermunicipal coöperation; they allow any two or more governmental units—cities, counties, school districts, etc.—to make agreements for joint exercise of powers common to the contracting parties.

California amended its law authorizing intercity coöperation to allow local governmental units to coöperate with the federal and state governments and their departments and agencies.

Municipalities are permitted to coöperate in fire and police protection in fourteen states under 1943 legislation which provided, as a rule, for the transfer of firemen and fire-fighting equipment from one community to another.

Postwar Reserves of Municipalities

The American City has been conducting a symposium on "Postwar Planning for Municipal Improvement" in nine issues from November 1942 to September 1943, in which 369 municipalities in all parts of the United States have reported that they have begun to plan for postwar public works or other municipal improvements to be undertaken when men and materials are available. One hundred and forty of the municipalities state that they are setting up reserves, in war bonds or otherwise, for postwar projects. This is shown by population groups as follows:

Population	*Replies Published*	*Municipalities With Postwar Reserves*
50,000 and over	98	9
25,000 - 50,000	77	23
15,000 - 25,000	64	27
10,000 - 15,000	130	71
	369	140

Municipal Priority Ratings Made More Automatic

The War Production Board has adopted the policy of assigning automatically priority ratings for maintenance, repair, and operating materials and supplies for municipal use, instead of cities being required to obtain specific authorization, according to the *Washington News Letter* of the American Municipal Association. This involves the shelving of the Governmental Requirements Plan under which about three-fourths of the dollar value of such materials and supplies purchased by all cities are said to have been obtained. The enormous amount of work entailed on the part of GRP personnel in handling the growing number of applications is reported to have proved too much for the WPB and the discontinuance of the GRP procedure solves the administrative problem caused by the existence of two distinct methods of assigning ratings for municipal supplies, i.e., directly and individually through GRP, or automatically under Regulation 5-A of the Controlled Materials Plan.

Governmental requirements in general are being assigned automatic ratings under CMP Regulation 5-A as follows: AA-1 for sanitary sewerage facilities, hospitals, refuse and garbage disposal, police and fire protection, and disease control; AA-2 for streets providing immediate access to military or war production facilities and strategic thoroughfares, airports, storm sewers, street lighting (by cities that buy power), administrative facilities and educational institutions; AA-5 for facilities not listed in Regulation 5-A. Public sanitary sewerage facilities may also obtain automatic AA-1 ratings under Preference Rating Order P-141, and water, gas, electric, steam, and communication utilities serving the general public obtain them under Utilities Order U-1.

Citizen Action

San Antonio Civic Group Endorses City-County Consolidation

Conducts Educational Campaign Before Placing Plan in Ballot

RECENTLY the **San Antonio Council of Presidents,** composed of presidents and immediate past presidents of eighty-six civic organizations in San Antonio and Bexar County, Texas, unanimously endorsed the proposal of its president, Howard W. Davis, to set the consolidation of the city and county governments of San Antonio and Bexar County, Texas, as its prime objective for the ensuing year.

Bexar County, like some 350 other metropolitan counties in the United States, finds itself burdened with a complexity of confusing and overlapping local governments. The original city limits of San Antonio have been extended only twice, in two small areas, during the past three hundred years, when the king of Spain made the original six-mile square grant for the city of San Antonio. The city growth is positively strangled by the various municipalities, towns, incorporated villages, and military reservations immediately adjacent to its present limits.

In Bexar County there are sixty-four independent school districts, more than twenty water districts, thirteen post offices, five law enforcement groups, two conflicting health departments, six tax-assessing agencies, seven tax-spending agencies, and a multiplicity of other duplications and conflicting authorities too numerous to mention.

The proposal is to consolidate the city and the county into the city and county of San Antonio, under the legal method set up by the Texas enabling act of 1933 providing for simple procedure in the selection of a charter drafting committee and the subsequent adoption of a suitable charter for future operations.

To accomplish these ends, a direct selling campaign is being carried to every precinct of Bexar County by the various members of the San Antonio Council of Presidents. President Davis has been accompanied on his speaking tour by County Judge Charles W. Anderson. Judge Anderson explains the legal method—the HOW of the plan; President Davis explains in detail the WHY of the proposal. City and county officials, including Mayor Gus B. Mauermann, Park Commissioner Henry F. Hein, City Tax Commissioner Alfred Callahan, and others, have publicly endorsed the movement as a result of the speaking activity.

Civic Groups Endorse Plan

The San Antonio Breakfast Club endorsed the proposal unanimously, the San Antonio Kiwanis Board of Directors unanimously approved; as have also the Lion's Club, the Executives Association, the San Antonio Manufacturer's Association, the San Antonio System of Public Accountants, the Lion's Club of Alamo Heights, the Council of Pan-American Relations, and various other civic groups.

The Executive Board of the City Federation of Women's Clubs has publicly endorsed the movement, and Mrs. Charles S. Fowler, its president, is personally presenting the proposal to each of its sixty-five member clubs.

Programs will be presented in all the outlying rural areas of Bexar County explaining the triple tax plan proposed by President Davis. For tax assessment purposes property in Bexar County will be divided into three classifications—business property, residential property, and rural property.

It is anticipated that the total tax burden will be reduced by this consolidation from 20 to 40 per cent and the service rendered increased.

In addition to these tangible objectives, such a consolidation will again establish San Antonio as the first city in Texas in population, and will unify all the people of Bexar County under one local government and enable the metropolitan area to achieve many accomplishments heretofore rendered impossible by virtue of disunity, inaction, indecision, and a lack of centralized authority.

The present Bexar County budget is $1,950,000 annually; the present San Antonio budget $3,550,000. A total of $5,500,000—plus the less impressive budgets of the outlying incorporated areas. Competent local authorities deem it quite reasonable to expect a saving of one or two million dollars annually as a result of this consolidation.

The greatest hazard to be overcome in this selling campaign is the hazard of fear of increased taxation due to misinformation and the natural American fear of making a change.

After a thorough campaign of public meetings an election will be called early in 1944.

Citizens Care— at Home and Abroad

Because the war has distracted even the people at home from thoughts of local government the **Citizens Union of New York City** has been working harder than ever at its job of keeping people informed and watching local government. It believes that if people lose interest in what is going on in their home town the people who run their home town may lose all incentive to run it well. And if home towns all over the country are not well run the boys who are fighting to preserve our kind of government may think it is not worth preserving.

So the Citizens Union is doing its best to make New York a good example of the kind of democracy we want to keep. And its dogged perseverance has been well rewarded. In addition to the usual thousands of orders for *Voters Directories* to be delivered in New York, requests came this year from Washington, from across the Pacific, from Alaska, and from army camps from Massachusetts to New Mexico. The *Voters Directory* is the pamphlet the Union issues every year containing the records of all candidates and nonpartisan recommendations on candidates and issues. People start asking for copies in July and requests pour in until Election Day. A naval lieutenant "somewhere in the Pacific" wrote in September for advance information on candidates. He said he was applying for a war ballot and was urging his men to do so also. They wanted to be sure to vote for the right people. Fearing that the *Directory* would not be ready in time one of the staff members compiled some material and sent it across.

Legislative Activities

The Union does a year-round job of trying to improve the city's government in other ways than advising the voters to elect the right public servants. It has a practical program of legislation which its representatives at City Hall and Albany, where the legislature meets, do their best to have adopted. At this year's election, the results of which are not known as this is being written, the Union had the satisfaction of seeing one of the measures it has long been pushing on the ballot for the voters to approve or defeat. The state constitution has always required a citizen, in order to vote, to have lived four months in the county in which he is voting. Every year this disfranchises hundreds of New York City residents

who move from one to another of the five counties within New York City on the October moving day. The amendment would permit a person to vote if he has lived four months in the county, city, or village. This amendment also affects five upstate villages which are in more than one county.

The need for another reform in which the Union is interested was shown sharply in connection with this election. A candidate for Supreme Court Justice, nominated by the judicial conventions of both the Democratic and Republican parties, was found to be indebted for his nomination to a notorious underworld character. The discovery of this connection came too late for the parties to withdraw their nominations and still conform to the election law. Bar and civic organizations came to the conclusion that a change is needed in the method of making all judicial nominations. The Union's committee on courts is investigating various suggestions and will prepare bills which the secretary will try to have introduced and passed at the next session of the legislature.

These bills will carry out one of about twenty items on the Citizens Union's program of legislation for 1944. Ten of the Union's program items were passed by the 1943 legislature. Six were signed by the Governor and one, the constitutional amendment mentioned above, went to the voters. At least one or two of those vetoed by the Governor will be included in the 1944 program—the Union is always ready to try again.

By the demands for the *Voters Directory* in what was commonly called an "off-year election" the Union is convinced that not only people at home but also those serving the federal government in Washington and those serving with the armed forces here and abroad want to see honest elections and reforms and economies in their city government. The Union is continuing to carry out their wishes by watching the legislature, watching the City Council and Board of Estimate, studying budgets, and keeping up all the other day-to-day jobs it has been doing in war and in peace for forty-six years.

ELEANOR C. TANZER,
Assistant Secretary
Citizens Union of New York City

Chicago Civic Federation Continues City, County Surveys

During 1943 considerable progress has been made in the **Chicago Civic Federation's** studies of Chicago governments.

Recent work relative to the city has been concentrated on a comprehensive study of the city's inspectional services which is nearing completion.

As a result of the Sanitary District survey a new budget and financial reporting law was enacted at the recent session of the General Assembly and will go into effect with the 1944 budget.

The Cook County survey resulted in the passage of several new laws concerning the administration of county government. Mandatory legislation was passed setting up a new purchasing department and permissive legislation was enacted making possible the creation of a department of central services, a department of maintenance and operation, and a compensation-classification agency covering all county employees. Staff work has been largely devoted to aiding the county install a new purchasing system. Progress to date includes the following points:

1. Installed a system of records where none were maintained heretofore, consisting of a purchase record and a perpetual inventory record. This is now 30 per cent complete.
2. Preparing standard specifications, 10 per cent complete.
3. Provided a complete change in office procedure to expedite payment of invoices to obtain discounts.
4. Prepared a manual of rules and regulations and step-by-step pro-

cedure together with a section explaining the important points of good purchasing practice.

5. Prepared and installed new and improved forms covering purchase orders, receiving reports, supplemental orders, storeroom orders, and invoices.

6. Provided for the issuing of an annual report on purchasing activities.

7. Consolidating small orders into bulk orders to obtain better prices.

8. Obtaining contracts for commodities heretofore purchased frequently in open market in small lots.

9. Obtained control over all storerooms and storeroom personnel for the purchasing agent.

These activities were in addition to the regular work of The Civic Federation both in Springfield and in Chicago.

DOUGLAS SUTHERLAND
HARLAND C. STOCKWELL
Civic Federation of Chicago

Here and There

Many citizen groups have been active in pre-election work in their communities. The **Citizens Union of New York City** has issued its annual *Voters Directory* evaluating candidates in the fall election. In the same city the **Citizens Non-Partisan Committee** has gone a step further and brought out its own slate for council for which it will campaign.

Cleveland's Citizens League reported on primary candidates for city offices in its publication *Greater Cleveland*, as did the **Detroit Citizens League** in its *Civic Searchlight*.

In evaluating candidates these organizations use such labels as endorsed, preferred, qualified, not qualified, not recommended.

Another type of *Voters' Directory* is that issued by the **Civic Club of Allegheny County** (Pittsburgh) in which the "information regarding candidates was obtained from the candidates themselves. The Civic Club . . . aims to give information only and does not make recommendations with respect to any candidate."

The **Cambridge Plan E Committee, Yonkers City Manager League, Cincinnati City Charter League,** and numerous other citizen groups in council-manager plan cities have announced slates of "charter" candidates for which they will campaign.

The **New Jersey Taxpayers Association,** in its monthly *Taxegram*, lists all major candidates for governor and the legislature to be voted on November 2. The Association strongly urges passage of the constitutional revision referendum on the ballot the same day.

* * *

Lack of participation in local government is concerning many citizen organizations. Says the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** in its *Civic Affairs*: "LIVES + BLOOD + TEARS + SWEAT + DOLLARS is the price we are paying to guarantee to every American that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall be preserved. *Do we have government by the people if 74 per cent of our qualified voters refuse to go to the polls on election day?*"

The **New York City League of Women Voters** worked actively for a large registration of voters with the slogan: "Bullets fight for freedom, ballots preserve it." Its members manned election information booths in all the city's large department stores. The League has issued a "Proportional Representation Quiz" as part of its educational campaign preceding the election of city councilmen by P. R.

In its campaign for 100 per cent participation in elections the **New York State League of Women Voters** has secured many signatures to its pledge card, "I will be a 100% voter."

* * *

According to the *Bulletin* of the **Massachusetts League of Women Voters**

forty representatives of local leagues met recently to discuss the technique of effective leadership. The League offers help by way of leaflets to its local leagues in organizing leadership training groups.

The Citizenship School of the **Connecticut League of Women Voters** was held on October 26 in Hartford. Topic discussed was "Does the existing relationship between the executive and legislative branches of government lead to effective execution of public policy?"

* * *

The **Indiana Taxpayers Association** has issued a "Taxpayer's Calendar for 1943," based on an act by the 1943 legislature, in order that the taxpayer may know meeting schedules for the adoption of city, county, and school budgets, and for county boards of tax adjustment. In many communities these dates pass unnoticed with the result that protests on the part of taxpayers are too late.

* * *

The **Statewide Committee for Revision of the Missouri Constitution** has made a number of studies on questions coming before the Constitutional Convention now in session. The committee appealed to political scientists in the state's universities, governmental research bureaus, and bar associations to lend their aid. Studies include rural government, the executive department, the legislature, the Bill of Rights, suffrage and elections, financial problems, and local problems.

* * *

Plans for uniting state taxpayers organizations on a nation-wide scale were made at a meeting of representatives of thirty-four state taxpayer organizations held recently in Chicago. Norman MacDonald, executive director of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, and chairman of the Coordinating Committee of the Conference of State Taxpayer Organization Executives, presided at the three-day session at which Governor Saltonstall of Massachusetts was one of the principal speakers.

The **Chicago City Club** held its first weekly forum luncheon of the season on October 4. The forums, which cover subjects ranging from local government problems to international affairs, will continue until June. In order to increase attendance seven forum teams have been organized. These teams will serve in turn, each being responsible for five forums during the season. Each will promote attendance and fellowship at its meetings and have general responsibility for their success. In a recent *Bulletin* the Club asked its members to indicate their preference as to the two committees on which they would like to serve. The list of committees—city planning and housing, civil rights, constitutional revision, education, election, local transportation, money and currency, noise abatement, postwar planning and progress, public health, public personnel, social welfare, taxation, war effort—indicates the scope of the Club's civic interests.

* * *

The **Seattle Municipal League's** budget committee has recently reported on the city's preliminary budget. The chairman of the committee, David Levine, commended the city council on its first balanced budget in many years. Previous to making the report members of the committee met with the various city department heads to discuss their estimated expenditures for 1944.

* * *

The **Long Beach, New York, Citizens Union,** which is conducting a campaign for adoption of a charter amendment providing the manager plan with proportional representation, has issued a number of interesting flyers pointing out the present condition of the city and comparing it to that of other communities which have the council-manager plan.

Proportional Representation
Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Sweden and France— An Instructive Contrast

This Fall's P. R. Elections

IN SPITE of the fact that such stable countries as Switzerland, Eire, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia have used forms of proportional representation for their national elections for upwards of twenty years, there are some who hesitate to support the principle of justice in constituting legislative bodies because they have been told that it makes government more difficult. To those who want the truth on this vital question the following study in contrast, taken from the last annual report of the British Proportional Representation Society, may prove illuminating:

"To apply the principles of freedom and justice to elections is not taking a leap in the dark. Man has now a considerable body of experience, an experience that justifies faith in the value of these principles.

"Space limits us to one example only, Sweden, whose Parliament was founded more than five hundred years ago. Sweden has used a proportional system for all elections, municipal and parliamentary, for thirty-two years. This system, says Dr. Gunnar Gyllander of Stockholm, a well known writer on political questions, is now 'accepted as part of the normal life of democratic Sweden.'

"Sweden, like Great Britain, has a coalition government, the Prime Minister being Hr. Hansson, the leader of the Social Democratic party. A general election took place during the war in September 1940. The coalition continued in office before, during, and after the election. Under the proportional system the constituencies returned several members each. Accordingly each party was able to nominate such candidates as it wished in each of the constituencies. The *American Political Science Review* (February 1941) states that the election 'was remarkably free from vituperation and mud-slinging. Each political party campaigned in a dignified manner for electoral support for its respective candidates.'

Political Opinion Expressed

"There was a movement in political opinion, and because of the freedom enjoyed by the political parties, this movement in opinion found true expression in the electoral results. The Social Democrats gained seats. For the first time they obtained a majority of the seats in both Houses of Parliament. The sequel is instructive. The Social Democrats did not take advantage of their absolute majority to fill all the Ministerial posts. The coalition was maintained. This action is in keeping with the views expressed in an interview published in the *Manchester Guardian* in 1937. Hr. Hansson, the Swedish Prime Minister, then said: 'I find that I can work as Prime Minister with Conservatives and Socialists who have the common interest of the whole nation at heart. In this sense I believe that all governments of democratic countries should try to be National Governments.'

"What has been the effect of this coöperation of parties based on freedom and justice? Mr. Herbert Agar of the American Embassy, in *A Time for Greatness*, writes: 'For thirty years the Swedes trained themselves to ask of any plan the matter-of-fact question: Will it work? Will it make the majority better off, and, if so, what is the price in freedom or in interference with busi-

ness enterprise? In a short while Sweden, in relation to its resources, had the most widely distributed well-being in the world.'

"After thirty-two years of just representation, no Swedish statesman proposes to substitute for it either an electoral gamble or a 'coupon' election; he would regard these as inferior from the point of view of democratic and moral principles and also from the point of view of practical value in the government of the nation.

Two Systems Contrasted

"We can contrast the stable progressive government enjoyed by Sweden with the political chaos in France, which used single-member constituencies. In so far as the method of electing the Chamber of Deputies contributed to the political chaos and bitter divisions of France, the single-member constituency must be held responsible.

"Distinguished Frenchmen have directed attention to the weaknesses and dangers of this method of election. M. Briand referred to the single-member constituencies as 'stagnant pools.' Mr. Alexander Werth in *The Twilight of France*, in his account of the general election of 1936, vividly portrays their limitations. To escape from these limitations, the great socialist and internationalist, Jean Jaurès, who attached great value to ethical principles, passionately urged the adoption of proportional representation. The work of French reformers bore fruit, but unfortunately twenty years too late. In 1939 the French Chamber of Deputies passed a genuine measure of proportional representation, a measure supported by both Conservatives and Socialists. The advent of war prevented the bill reaching the Senate.

"The contrast between Sweden and France, from among many examples which could be given, should receive the most careful consideration."

Eight P. R. Elections

On November 2 eight American cities will elect their city councils by P. R. Two of them will elect P. R. school committees also.

Lowell, Massachusetts, will be using P. R. for the first time. As so often happens when a new method is first used, a large number of aspirants have appeared in the hope that the new form of lightning may strike in their direction. Although only twenty have filed petitions for the six places on the school committee, ninety-seven have filed for the nine-man council. The experience of Wheeling, which had 123 candidates the first time under P. R., and of Brooklyn, which had ninety-nine, shows that such a multiplicity of candidates need not be cause for too great alarm, and that the tide may be expected to recede after the first election. Even with a long ballot there is little difficulty in picking out the few names that any one voter is likely to know, and most voters succeed in getting representation by helping to elect one of those they do know and favor.

In New York's fourth P. R. election this fall, Brooklyn has only twenty-five candidates. Manhattan has thirteen, Queens sixteen, the Bronx nine, and Richmond (which elects only one member, by majority preferential voting) two. The number to be elected in each of the five boroughs is determined by the number of valid ballots cast. Because of absences in the armed forces and the lack of any spectacular contest for mayor, governor, or president, the registration has fallen off heavily (though not so much as expected) and the next Council will be reduced in size from twenty-six to perhaps nineteen.

New York City and Yonkers will have their final P. R. results delayed this year by a new state law which provides for the sending of ballots to

soldiers overseas and for their return at any time up to December 10.

The other P. R. elections will be held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, for council and school committee; in Cincinnati, Toledo and Hamilton, Ohio; and in Boulder, Colorado.

Four questions involving P.R. will be voted on in two New York cities. In Long Beach votes are scheduled on adoption of P.R. with the manager plan and on a rival proposal to set up a charter commission. In Yonkers two changes in the P. R. count will be voted on.

Philip Randolph Joins P. R. Council

The trustees of the Proportional Representation League, Inc., now operating as a department of the National Municipal League, take pleasure in announcing the acceptance of A. Philip Randolph of a place on the P. R. League's Advisory Council. Mr. Randolph is international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He is one of the most widely known and respected Negro leaders in the country and a prominent figure in the ranks of organized labor. He has been a consistent supporter of P. R. in New York City and a member of the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee, which has put forward a Fusion ticket of well qualified candidates for every one of the city's P. R. elections.

Mr. Randolph was elected to fill a vacancy in the Advisory Council caused by the death of William J. Locke, former secretary of the League of California Municipalities. Mr. Locke had been very helpful in spreading interest in P. R. among California cities and in the almost successful effort to get the ban on its use removed by legislative action and popular vote after it had been declared unconstitutional in Sacramento.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

War-Boom City Strengthens Finances

Wilmington, N. C., Surpluses Reserved for Postwar Needs

WARTIME increases in local revenues have by now become a commonplace in the United States, but few communities have shown the significant fiscal changes that the last two years have brought to Wilmington, North Carolina. Although the war has nearly tripled the city's population, and necessitated an increase of nearly one million dollars in the gross bonded debt, increased revenues have permitted the elimination of a long-standing sinking fund deficiency, the setting aside of a postwar capital reserve, and the easy balancing of annual budgets.

For the two decades ending 1940 Wilmington's population held close to 33,000. Then in 1941 a subsidiary of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company began operations here, employment at the shipyards and in other war jobs bringing the population to a present locally estimated 90,000. Perhaps equally significant, the city at about the same time adopted North Carolina's Plan D for a council-manager form of government, effective with the fiscal year 1941-42. The first city manager was James G. Wallace, formerly manager at Bangor, Maine; he was followed in 1942 by A. C. Nichols, formerly manager at Greenwood, South Carolina.

War Increases City Debt

Wilmington had more or less steadily reduced its bonded debt during the 1930's, but the influx of new residents required new facilities and in March

1942 the city sold $635,000 of new bonds, followed by an additional $300,000 in October 1943. Of this $935,000 of new bonds, $825,000 was for water improvements and extensions, $75,000 for storm sewers, and $35,000 for sanitary sewers, purposes pretty well indicative of the most pressing needs imposed by the new population.

Despite the increases, the load of tax-supported debt in the community is not excessive, amounting—together with the city's share of county obligations—to about $78 per capita and a little less than 7 per cent of the estimated true value of taxable property—figures comparing favorably with the medians for cities of this size.

Operating costs in the city have also been increased by the influx of new residents. General fund expenditures for general purposes rose from about $524,000 in 1939-40 to $663,000 for 1941-42 and a preliminary $788,000 for 1942-43.

Boom Brings Added Revenues

Wilmington's added costs have been more than offset by increases in revenues, however, so that the net change in the city's position is on the credit side of the ledger.

The improvement in property tax collections has been impressive. Year-end current tax delinquency had stood at 18.7 per cent of the year's ad valorem levy in 1929-30, rising to a peak of 33.6 per cent for 1932-33, and falling gradually to 22.2 per cent for 1940-41. The 1940-41 median year-end delinquency for 150 representative cities had been 6.8 per cent. Wilmington rapidly bettered its prior record as the war boosted local incomes, year-end delinquency falling to 16.0 per cent for 1941-42—when the 150-city median was 6.0 per cent—and to 12.3 per cent for 1942-43. Furthermore, where during the 1930's back taxes were collected only twice in sufficient volume to bring total current and delinquent collections to 100 per cent of the year's levy, for 1941-42 total collections reached 105 per cent of the levy and for 1942-43 about 120 per cent was shown.

Revenues other than the property tax also increased. Water department collections—which go into the general fund—were up 50 per cent from the 1939-40 level for 1942-43, and minor charges also rose. More important, a sharp advance occurred in the state's allocation to the city from Alcoholic Beverage Control Board revenues. This item amounted to but $66,000 in 1939-40, and for 1941-42 it was $145,000. For the year just closed it went up to $410,000, however, a figure comparing with $150,000 anticipated in the budget.

The net result of 1942-43 operations was that where the budget had been drawn to anticipate revenues of $1,148,000, actual revenues were approximately $1,529,000. For general and water operations and for debt charges a total of $1,236,000 had been appropriated, but actual expenditures were held to $1,196,000, or about $333,000 less than actual revenues. Since in 1941-42 an operating surplus had been shown of about $74,000, entirely liquidating a small cash deficiency which had been carried for some years, it is evident that the wartime rise in Wilmington's revenues has sufficed to very radically strengthen the city's fiscal position.

Surplus Not Diverted

The surplus of 1941-42 was allowed to stand, since it left the city at the year-end with a small cumulative cash surplus of approximately $56,000, a comfortable working cash balance. The $333,000 surplus from 1942-43 operations was earmarked, however: $200,000 for an extraordinary addition to the city sinking funds and $100,000 for a capital reserve for postwar use.

The $200,000 addition to the sinking fund placed the city's debt account on a sound basis, and will permit moderate

annual budget savings in the future. It appears that in earlier years the rate of sinking fund accumulations had not been fully sufficient to permit retirement of the $1,000,000 term bonds outstanding, and last year the rate of annual payments was doubled to help overcome the deficiency. The payment made from the year's operating surplus practically wipes out the old deficit, and will permit a lowering of the annual sinking fund payment, if the city desires, to but little over the former amount.

Capital Planning Recommended

An excellent study for local officials interested in postwar public works is presented by the Local Government Board of the New Jersey Department of Local Government. Much of the Board's fourth annual report, published in September, deals with postwar planning, and the Board urges the necessity first of all of a capital budget.

Recommending that "a general program be prepared which is designed to cover postwar projects in their relative order of importance to the municipality," the Board states that the following factors must be borne in mind:

"a. The practical need for the project. The time has passed when any and every project, regardless of its value, need, or importance, is sought after and acceptable.

"b. The cost involved with some reasonably accurate estimates, based on such data as may be available. Where the data [are] not available, a detailed outline of the project should be prepared, upon which estimates can be based.

"c. Capacity of the municipality to pay for the projects, including its ability to make funds available whether by borrowing or otherwise. This would involve an analysis of the current financial position of the municipality based upon tax collection history, population, future prospects, and other related current factors.

"d. The annual recurring cost of the project. All too frequently, too much attention is paid to the initial cost of the project and too little to the annual operating cost which adds to the total operating expenditures appearing in each annual budget."

Chicago-Area Tax Collections Improve

The war is bringing a noteworthy improvement in ad valorem property tax collections to the Chicago community, according to figures shown by the most recent statement of Cook County Collector Victor L. Schlager. For the first nine months of 1943 collections by the county—which acts as the tax collection agency for Chicago and all other local units within the county—were 91.1 per cent of the current levy, 3.8 percentage points ahead of the showing for the corresponding 1942 period. Current collections alone for the 1943 period were equal to 86.8 per cent of this year's levy, as compared with 82.9 per cent collected on the levy last year for the corresponding period.

The unsatisfactory tax collection situation in Cook County has long been a cause for concern, since not only have collections lagged rather sadly behind trends in the other major metropolitan areas, but there have also been indications that ultimate losses due to uncollectibility would be high.

An important factor has been that the levies included a rather large amount of personalty taxes, which have been very poorly collected. As recently as 1940 the full year's current collections of such taxes amounted to but little more than half the personalty levy, and total personalty collections including arrears

to only 57.3 per cent. In 1941 personalty collections increased to 55.6 per cent of the levy for current taxes while arrears brought total collections to 69.2 per cent. Last year two-thirds of the levy was collected currently while back tax receipts swelled the total to 71.3 per cent.

This improvement in personalty collections, together with gradual improvement in the collection of real estate taxes and railroad taxes (the collection record for which is relatively satisfactory) sufficed to raise total current and back tax collections from 86.0 per cent of the levy in 1940 to 90.74 per cent in 1941 and 90.71 per cent last year. This year, nine months current collections of personalty taxes are at 80.3 per cent of the levy and inclusion of back personalty tax receipts brings the total to 84.99 per cent.

The following tables, based on statements of the county collector, permit comparison of collections for the nine-months periods this year and last with collections for the full year 1942. The first table is for current collections alone, the second for combined current and back tax collections, expressed in each case as a percentage of the respective current levies.

Current Tax Collections

	9 Months		*12 Months*
	1943	*1942*	*1942*
Realty Taxes	87.9%	87.5%	90.2%
Railroad Taxes	99.9%	99.8%	99.8%
Personalty Taxes	80.3%	65.9%	66.6%
All Taxes	86.8%	82.9%	85.0%

Total Tax Collections

	9 Months		*12 Months*
	1943	*1942*	*1942*
Realty Taxes	92.3%	92.4%	96.5%
Railroad Taxes	99.9%	102.3%	102.8%
Personalty Taxes	84.99%	69.4%	71.3%
All Taxes	91.1%	87.3%	90.7%

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Pennsylvania Counties and Townships May Plan Postwar Projects

Have Ample Unused Legal Borrowing Capacity

MUCH is being written at present of the desirability of local plans for postwar public works programs, but mention is rarely made of whether the units doing the planning have the legal capacity to incur the financial obligations necessary to carry out the plans. Hence a series of studies now being made by the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs is of unusual interest.

According to a series of articles in the Department's *Bulletin,* by Henry W. Van Pelt, director of the Bureau of Statistics, comprehensive data on the legal borrowing capacity of Pennsylvania municipalities is being tabulated. The reports covering counties and townships are encouraging.

Excluding Philadelphia, which is classed as a consolidated city-county, the state's sixty-six counties have an unused legal borrowing capacity of more than $406,000,000. Of this amount $91,000,000 may be borrowed by the county commissioners without a vote of the electorate under the constitutional authorization for the incurrence of a debt up to 2 per cent of assessed valuation in this manner. The remaining $315,000,000 is unused borrowing capacity within the 5 per cent granted by the constitution dependent on electoral approval.

Especially significant is that each of the sixty-six counties shares in this unused credit reserve. The largest unused borrowing capacity is that of

Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) with $88,000,000, the smallest Forest County with $126,424. In all, twenty-two counties show unused margins of more than $5,000,000.

The study of first class townships in the state reveals that they have reduced their bonded indebtedness almost 18 per cent in the past seven years, thus making them quite capable of bearing the burden of public works projects anticipated as essential when war hostilities cease.

Such postwar planning is encouraged by a law enacted by the 1943 legislature[1] under which townships and municipalities can create a special capital reserve fund for this purpose. Surplus moneys from various sources accumulated up to six months after cessation of hostilities may be transferred to the fund. Such moneys can then be spent only during the postwar period and only for construction of capital improvements or for their repair or replacement.

Townships are urged by the Department to initiate such long-term postwar planning immediately. W. S. S.

Knoxville and Knox County Consolidate Health Services

A merger of the Knoxville Bureau of Health and the Knox County Health Department took place July 1 through a written contract entered into by city, county, and state officials. The contract can be terminated by any of the parties at the end of any fiscal year provided the terminating party gives sixty days notice. Under the contract the city must appropriate to the consolidated department at least $110,000 annually, the county a minimum of $14,000, and the state must furnish in cash, materials, and service a minimum of $70,000 a year.

Director of the combined department is the former Knoxville public health officer; associate director is the former County Department of Health director. The personnel of the city and county health departments were retained in the new department, and classification and compensation for these employees will be established and maintained in accordance with a program approved jointly by the state and city civil service. Compensation of employees is not to be reduced below the salary schedule submitted to the State Health Department last May. New employees are to be selected subject to qualifications required under state and city civil service programs.

Prior to consolidation the city was spending approximately $1.30 per capita for public health activities, and the county was spending approximately 30 cents per capita. The consolidation has resulted in marked increases in expenditure and expansion of services, particularly in the rural areas where health services had been wholly inadequate.

Macon County, Illinois, May Vote on Township Abandonment

The legislative committee of the Macon County, Illinois, Board of Supervisors is considering the question of submitting the form of county government to popular referendum. The proposal would be adoption of the so-called "commission" form which would abolish the present township system.

The referendum would be initiated by a petition signed by 20 per cent of the voters of the county. The county board would then place the question on the ballot at the next general election. If a majority of the votes were cast against continuance of township organization, a special election would be held the first Monday of January next following to elect three commissioners for staggered terms. The laws relating to counties not under township organiza-

[1]Act No. 73.

tion then would become applicable, with the commissioners taking office the first Monday in February following election. The county would assume the township functions, debts, etc.

If Macon County adopts this form, it will become the eighteenth Illinois county to do so.

Wisconsin Counties Conserve Forests

The *Wisconsin Taxpayer* reports that the counties of Wisconsin are the state's largest timber growers, now owning nearly 2,000,000 acres under the county forest reserve law.

These county-owned forest reserves are maintained in part as a result of state encouragement to counties to engage in best conservation practices. The state allows grants-in-aid for forestry purposes amounting to ten cents per acre on such reserves, and the severance tax for county-owned timber is 50 per cent of the value of the timber cut.

SMALL POLITICAL PARTIES

(Continued from Page 528)

guards against the requirement of an excessive number of signatures, heavy filing fees, unreasonably early filing dates, and makes all nominating petitions presumptively valid except after judicial proceedings.

Though not specifically designed to aid small parties, improvements in election procedures as embodied in the model election administration law prepared by the Committee on Election Administration of the National Municipal League would help to secure more equitable treatment for nominees. It is possible also that the Committee's recommendation to permit candidates to go on the ballot through a sponsor system would help.[5]

The use of the convention method of nomination and resort to the "write-in" of names may afford some relief to local parties but by and large these methods are of little help. Only about fifteen states permit new or small parties to gain a place on the ballot by the convention method. In some states such as in Kentucky and Utah the party must file a petition in addition to holding a convention at its own expense.

Since the outbreak of the war considerable concern has been shown in the preservation of the "two-party" system. This same concern ought to be expressed for the protection of bona fide new and established small parties. Voters leagues, citizens associations, and the press should scrutinize existing and pending legislation which seems to have the object of keeping all but Republican and Democratic tickets off the ballot. At the same time some discussion of the role of minor parties and of non-party groups in the war effort might well be added to the imposing list of subjects now being discussed in the press, over the radio, and in the forum.

[5]For a discussion of the Committee's election administration law see, National Municipal League, *A Model Election Administration System,* New York, 1930.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Wartime Problems of State and Local Finance. Symposium conducted by the Tax Institute, November 27-28, 1942, New York City. Tax Institute, New York City, 1943. ix, 267 pp. $2.50.

The subject of this symposium—the seventh in the series sponsored by the Tax Institute—is both timely and important. And the fact that the New York City meetings were supplemented by regional round tables has made it possible to present the problems of areas as widely scattered as the Pacific Coast, Florida, and New England.

Moreover, the participants in the New York conference represented federal, state, and local governments, private business, private organizations for government research, and university authorities in the field of finance. In spite of wide regional differences in state and local economies and financial systems, the more urgent financial problems appear to be much the same throughout the country.

The chief problems that emerge are (1) loss of revenues, especially motor vehicle revenues, resulting from rationing; (2) reduced property tax bases resulting from increases in federally owned real estate, and reduced sales tax bases resulting from exemption of government transactions; (3) growing demands on state and local budgets in defense areas because of rapidly growing population; and (4) the need for reserves for postwar public works programs.

Although exceptions are noted, it is apparent that for the first year of the war, at least, losses in revenue and increased expenditures resulting from rising prices were largely compensated for by smaller tax delinquencies and reduced expenditures for welfare and permanent improvements. Only those communities with large war industries were faced with real difficulties.

The most controversial issues appear to concern the desirability of building up reserves for postwar works programs, the appropriate method of compensating state and local governments for losses in the tax base resulting from federal ownership of property, and federal taxation of interest on state and local bonds.

There is general agreement that state and local governments should reduce indebtedness as far as possible, but wide differences of opinion as to the extent to which surpluses are feasible or desirable.

There is some consensus that federal payments in lieu have not been adequate, although the tendency to increase them is noted. There is less agreement as to whether the appropriate form of compensation is payments in lieu of taxes or the submission of federal property to regular local levies. One of the most informing articles in the volume is Charles S. Rhyne's summary of legislation and court decisions dealing with this problem. He concludes that payments in lieu are the best solution of the difficulty, and notes a trend toward larger and more equitable payments.

The sharpest difference of opinion concerns the exemption of government securities from income taxes. Paul Studenski's case for federal taxation of state and local securities is an exceptionally clear and convincing presentation of the arguments for taxation. Robert S. Ford's case for exemption suffers, by comparison, because he deals largely with the question of revenue gains and losses and fails to consider adequately the problem of equitable taxation of income. Moreover,

although he notes that estimates of the differential in interest rates vary, he accepts one of the highest of these without attempting to defend it, or even calling attention to the fact that it is higher than most.

Considering the volume as a whole, it easily lives up to the standards of timeliness, and more-than-transitory usefulness set by the earlier volumes in the series. The program committee is to be congratulated in achieving a coherent development of the subject, without serious overlapping or omissions. It presents a stimulating discussion of current problems in this field, and one that all who are concerned with these problems will profit by reading.

MABEL NEWCOMER
Vassar College

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Administration

How to Make and Interpret Functional Organization Charts. By John J. Furia. New York City, Graduate Division for Training in Public Service, New York University, 1943. xv, 64 pp. Fifty cents. (Apply New York University Bookstore.)

Administrative Districts and Field Offices of the Minnesota State Government. By Ivan Hinderaker. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1943. xiv, 143 pp., maps, charts. $3.

Courts

A History of Community Interest in a Juvenile Court. Positive and Negative Manifestations During the Period 1885-1942 in Multnomah County, Oregon. By Allan East. Portland, Oregon Probation Association, 1943. iii, 32 pp.

Democracy

Making Democracy and the World Mutually Safe. By Arthur Graham Glasgow. Norfolk, Virginia, The Author (1900 Monticello Avenue), 1943. 44 pp.

Libraries

Classification and Pay Plans for Libraries in Institutions of Higher Education. Vol. I: Non-degree-conferring Institutions; Vol. II: Degree-conferring Four-year Institutions; Vol. III: Universities. Chicago, American Library Association, 1943. 96, 157, and 204 pp. $1.25, $1.75, and $2.50 respectively.

The State Library Agency—Its Functions and Organization. Chicago, American Library Association, 1943. 38 pp. 75 cents.

Municipalities

Dallas Meets a Challenge. A Series of Interpretive Articles and Comments Reprinted from *The Dallas Morning News*. Dallas, Texas, *The Morning News*, 1943. 30 pp.

The Economic Basis of the Wealth and Welfare of New York City. By Ivan Wright and Arthur M. Wolkiser. Brooklyn, New York, Brooklyn College Press, 1943. iv, 73 pp.

Municipal Legislation of 1943. A Review of State Legislation of Special Interest and Significance to Municipal Government. By G. M. Morris. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1943. 32 pp. $1.

Planning

A Decade of Regional Planning in New England. Boston, New England Regional Planning Commission and National Resources Planning Board Region 1, 1943. 31 pp.

The Education of Planners. With Special Reference to the Graduate School of Design of Harvard University. Cambridge, The Graduate School of Design, 1943. 50 pp.

Poll Tax

The Anti-Poll Tax Bill Is Constitutional. Washington 4, D. C., National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, 1943. 18 pp.

Why the Poll Tax Is a National Issue. The Poll Tax Repeal Handbook. Washington 4, D. C., National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, 1943. 57 pp.

Political Parties

The Socialist Movement in Reading, Pennsylvania, 1896-1936. A Study in Social Change. By Henry G. Stetler. Storrs, Connecticut, The Author, 1943. vii, 197 pp. $2.

Postwar Planning

Plan Postwar Jobs—Now. Suggestions for Industrial Employers. Washington, D. C., Committee for Economic Development, 1943. 32 pp.

Retirement Systems

Retirement Systems for State and Local Government Employees. Summary Report. By Wylie Kilpatrick, etc. Washington, D. C., Division of State and Local Government, Bureau of the Census, 1943. 24 pp.

The Wisconsin Municipal Retirement Fund. Madison, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1943. 35 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Debts — Taxes — Assessments. Tenth Annual Study. Chicago, The Civic Federation, 1943. 24 pp.

Municipal Finance in the Postwar World. By Carl H. Chatters. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1943. 4 pp.

North American Gasoline Tax Conference. Houston, Texas, October 15-17, 1942. Chicago, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1943. v, 48 pp. $1.50.

State Tax Collections in 1943 (Preliminary). By V. J. Wyckoff. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1943. 12 pp.

Summary of Finances of City Governments in 1942. By Governments Division. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1943. 33 pp.

Summary of Finances of State Governments in 1942 (Preliminary). Washington, D. C., Division of State and Local Government, Bureau of the Census, 1943. 26 pp.

Wartime Conference Papers—1943. A Series of Addresses and Reports Delivered at the Association's Annual Conference in Pittsburgh, Penna., June 15-17, 1943. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1943. 32 pp. 50 cents.

World Taxes Between Wars. By Mabel L. Walker. New York 10, Tax Institute, 1943. 11 pp. 25 cents.

Tort Liability

Contribution Among Joint Tortfeasors. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, Research Department, 1943. 21 pp.

Voting

The Soldier Vote in 1942. By the Governments Division, E. R. Gray, Chief. Analysis by Abe Blanar. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1943. 9 pp.

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